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SO Hughes, Lodge, Root, and Underwood are to voice America's desire to preserve the peace of the world by reducing armament! In such a delegation big business, stalwart nationalism, legal acumen, and old line party politics are abundantly represented. But not the women, not labor, not the more or less inarticulate masses who honestly want peace above imperial dominion. The omission of Senator Borah, pioneer in the efforts which brought the conference into being, is especially unfortunate. Evidently if there is to be clear-visioned liberal leadership in the conference it must come from some other delegation than ours. British labor has officially demanded representation—with what result remains to be seen. It has also demanded a cessation of all work on armaments pending the conclusion of the conference. This is a practical demand and it is only as organized groups press such demands that there is hope for any degree of effective action from the deliberations of this new assemblage of the elder statesmen.

SINCE the Irish people have given to their leaders a solemn mandate to secure for them independence and nothing less, the ultimate answer to Lloyd George's proposals ought to be given by the people themselves through a plebiscite. In the meantime they or their leaders ought to know just what they are to get if they should accept a status within the Empire. A renunciation of the republic might not be too dear a price to pay for Irish unity. A majority in Northeast Ulster would undoubtedly be more easily won to unity within the Empire than without. If satisfactory proofs could be given of British sincerity in promoting unity rather than division in Ireland, President de Valera might well afford to go to his people and advocate the acceptance of Dominion Home Rule. He would, of course, also have to insist that Dominion Home Rule be the genuine article, that Ireland must have the same right to determine the degree of her participation in imperial affairs as Canada. To use Mr. de Valera's own simile, the British must not offer margarine and call it butter. Unfortunately a British committee on Irish negotiations comprising Sir Hamar Greenwood, Winston Churchill, and Lloyd George himself does not command instant confidence from the Irish or any others who know the meaning of good faith; hence the need of guaranties and of the persistent pressure of public opinion intent upon peace.

CHILE'S action in threatening withdrawal if the League should take up her old dispute with Bolivia and Peru, following upon Argentina's withdrawal a year ago, adds strength to the conviction that the League is destined to become a purely European organ. A year ago Peru attempted to bring the old Tacna-Arica dispute before the League. She was unsuccessful; this year Peru was significantly among the absentees. This time Bolivia brought up the question; Chile threatened to withdraw if it was considered, and Bolivia if it was not. Bolivia quite properly claimed that Articles 11 and 19 of the League Covenant were sufficient excuse to bring the matter before the League. But Chile made appeal to the principle of "American international law" (whatever that may be) which excludes non-American states from interference in New World questions. The question did not come before the Assembly but was shelved with a technical commission. Thus Chile won, not so much because the League accepted Chile's pseudonymous version of the Monroe Doctrine as because it feared that Chile's anger, coupled with our own abstention, would lose it all its support in the Americas. But the daintiest of treading will not win back the ground the League has lost. The League is too clearly controlled by the Great Powers of Europe, and that control is too deeply rooted in its constitution to attract the Latin-American nations. The war has given the United States and American imperialism a free hand in this hemisphere, and the Latin states realize that whether as friends or victims they must follow in the same path as the United States. Colombia's delegate, voicing his country's readiness to abandon the Geneva League for a "Harding League," only expresses acceptance of the inevitable.

A CENTRAL AMERICAN FEDERATION is not a new idea. For a decade after Latin America's achievement of independence the three states just refederated, Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador, together with Nicaragua and Costa Rica, which now stand aloof, formed a single state. The four and a half million people who dwell upon the narrow strip of land between Mexico and the Panama Canal form a natural unit, but difficulties of transportation combined with personal jealousies have hitherto

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kept them apart. The formation in 1907 of the Central American Court of Justice, in which all five countries joined, was sponsored jointly by the United States (Mr. Root then being Secretary of State) and Mexico. It seemed to be a step toward the federation which for seventy years had lapsed, but our own State Department, Mr. Bryan then being Secretary, negotiated a treaty with Nicaragua which the Court declared prejudicial to the interests of Salvador and Honduras, and both Mr. Bryan and Mr. Lansing have steadfastly refused to heed its protest. That, indeed, is the real reason why Nicaragua and Costa Rica do not share in the new federative movement—they are too completely dominated by North American interests. Long life to the new Federation, and may it soon be expanded! At a time when ultra-nationalism is rampant, the voluntary federation of these much-maligned states is inspiriting.

THAT amazing capacity for organization and extraordinary recuperative power which Soviet Russia showed in the military crises of the past is now pulling her out of the quagmire of the famine. The amateur statesmen who have so often outwitted the experienced diplomats of the West have once more proved their power. They have started a world-wide campaign of famine relief despite the intense enmity of the outside world. Their first efforts have gone to obtaining seed to re-sow the famine area; this they have in large measure accomplished. With a genius for publicity which only Mr. Hoover in the Western world can rival they have put an end to the panic which was leading hungry peasants to leave their farms for even less promising regions. Of course the extent of the famine has been exaggerated—to a degree by the soviet authorities seeking aid, and to a still larger degree by credulous newspaper correspondents who first believed every mad rumor that reached their ears, and then, when they got into Russia, forgot that Russian peasants were used to living on soup and black bread, and compared their present lot not with their habit of the past but with Western standards. Despite these gleams of hope, the major task of famine relief still lies in the future. At least four million Russians must be fed from abroad this winter—perhaps three times that number.

ALL over the world labor groups are giving for the relief of Russia. In Russia the Communist Party members give up a quarter of their rations. In Germany and in France alike workers are renouncing part of their scant wages. In New York City the garment workers are turning over a half day's pay. There are three main channels by which American relief may go to Russia. The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee, 47 West 42 Street, New York City, distributes through the Russian Red Cross, which is virtually a government agency. The American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, sent its own relief workers into Russia more than a year ago, and had relief supplies actually in the famine area when Mr. Hoover was still parleying about the degree of super-governmental control which he might exercise in the distribution of his supplies. The Russian Famine Fund, 15 Park Row, New York City, distributes through the Friends. The American Relief Administration, 120 Broadway, New York City, Mr. Hoover's organization, will necessarily be the chief agent of American relief, although its effective publicity gives an exaggerated impression of its relative importance. Mr. Hoover's position gives it a semi-official character; it is careful in Russia to tag its relief supplies as American. Some of its workers consider its relief as a form of propaganda for future American trade in Russia. Mr. Hoover seems thus far successfully to have avoided any entanglement with the inter-Allied group headed by that arch anti-bolshevist, M. Noulens, which sought to "cooperate" with him and which would certainly taint any relief it might accomplish with political propaganda, but Mr. Hoover's own record of anti-bolshevik belief and practice is such that many who bitterly resent any suspicion of politics in relief prefer to give through the other organizations.

THE American Engineering Council has issued a statement strongly backing Secretary Hoover's suggestion that millions of dollars may be employed in road work this fall, not only to the relief of thousands of the unemployed, but also to the public advantage. To postpone until spring contracts for road work which in 1920 involved $450,000,000 "outside of towns and cities" is a cause of "avoidable waste." Such testimony ought to allay the fears of the taxpayer, chronically more concerned for his own pocket than for others' stomachs. It is also somewhat encouraging to read a bulletin of the American Association for Labor Legislation recording some intelligent steps taken by employers and municipalities to apportion work, push forward public construction, and the like. The Association concludes: "On the whole reports indicate that many of the lessons of 1914-1915 had been taken to heart." But the unemployed who have stood on the auction blocks in Boston and Bridgeport will not find either consolation or shelter in reflecting on this very moderate progress toward the assertion of a public conscience on an urgent human problem. Just now the efforts of the spokesmen of the unemployed take the form of dramatic appeals like that on Boston Common. What will they do when winter sets in? The menace of unemployment may get results when pity has failed. We still hope for results from the forthcoming conference but it is a bad omen that the great newspapers and even Mr. Hoover put more energy into minimizing the amount of unemployment than in planning its cure.

THE most interesting development in Congress up to the recess was the formation of the agricultural *bloc* which came close to holding the balance of power in the Senate. The embattled farmers have made a considerable dent on this hard-shelled business administration. Newspaper correspondents credit five laws to their persistence: the emergency tariff, and bills to destroy gambling in the grain exchange, to regulate the packers, to aid farm-loan banks, and to help farmers through the War Finance Corporation. But the singular thing is that the aforesaid farmers are not much happier over their gains than the American Federation of Labor leaders over their losses. The emergency tariff was thrown to the farmers by the politicians to keep them quiet; the bills regulating packers and grain exchanges lost most of their teeth in committee; and such help as the farmers have received through special credit legislation is, in their opinion, less than that they lost by the discrimination of the Federal Reserve Board against them. However this may be, the agricultural *bloc* is bound to be increasingly powerful in Congress.

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OUR hat is off to Henry Ford as a business man extraordinary. He financed his company with no aid from Wall Street during a critical period; in May, June, and July his factories turned out the record number 317,587 cars and trucks; he is making his "streak-of-rust" railroad pay. A man who can do these things does not need to swell his fortune by driving a sharp bargain with the Government. Yet Mr. Gifford Pinchot in a public letter has recently made a damaging analysis of the Ford offer for the Government property at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River. For the great dams Mr. Ford makes an offer equivalent only to 3.6 per cent on the Government's investment, and he proposes to pay nothing at all for water power itself. The amount of power that could be developed is greater by half than that now developed at Niagara Falls. The offer for the nitrate plants is superficially more attractive but in reality wholly inadequate. Furthermore Mr. Ford seeks water power not for a definite period with reversion of the plant to the Government at the end of fifty years, as was the Roosevelt policy, but for one hundred years with privilege of renewal. Nor is there any limit put to what Mr. Ford can charge consumers. Mr. Pinchot believes the Ford offer should be modified to make it fit "the Roosevelt water power conservation policy, now the law of the land." We must not give away public resources in water power as our fathers gave oil and coal.

THE New York *World* is rendering a valuable civic service in its revelations about the Ku Klux Klan. They will materially shorten its program of organized thuggery. But when in pursuance of its journalistic coup the *World* aims to obtain the suppression of the Klan, it is in danger of defeating its object. To deal with overt offenses there is already law enough; but the best way to abolish the Klan is with the deadly weapons of publicity and ridicule. The night-riding fraternity with its gibberish and its incantations cannot stand exposure to daylight. When you make "the invisible empire" visible, you destroy it. For the rest, if America's vaunted sense of humor is not dead, the country will soon be rocking with raillery over the imperial skeeziks, King Kupon-Klippers, hobgoblins, and at the easy marks who parted with their kontributions to join so inclusive an order of roughnecks, or shall we say kloodlums?

THE Knights of Columbus like the American Federation of Labor are concerned for the preservation of truth in the writing of American history. The two organizations are alarmed on different grounds but they agree in their suspicion of the pabulum fed our school-children. And there is reason for alarm, though there may be doubt whether any organization vitally interested in one particular economic or religious creed is the best judge of what is truth. We might philosophically reflect that since there is no infallible arbiter of historic truth our best hope lies in an approximation to the facts through the controversial efforts of various factions to discover them, but this consolation fails when one recalls that elementary education is state controlled and that inevitably the state will use the enormous propaganda powers of the schools to uphold those views of history and economics which gratify national pride and support the interests of the dominant classes. The Lusk laws are only the most outrageous instances of this tendency to make education the docile servant of the state.

EVEN more sobering than partisan zeal in distorting facts is the evidence of ignorance in colleges and high schools with regard to the most outstanding persons and movements of our own day. But the answers gathered by the *Review of Reviews* and the Institute for Public Service were in themselves vastly amusing. Here are samples of the wisdom of the young taken from an analysis prepared by the Institute for Public Service from the papers of 17,500 students whose "country-wide average" was 44 per cent: Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., is given as head of the shipbuilding trade, a poet, labor's representative in Congress, Secretary of Labor, head of the strikers, the civil-service commission, and all the unions of the world, and minister to France, England, and Japan; Lloyd George is given as king of Ireland, king of England, prominent in England, ambassador to the United States, and English diplomat; Charles E. Hughes was President Wilson's private secretary and now wants to conquer Russia; Budget Director Dawes is Secretary of the Navy; Sinn Fein is a gang of mysterious men, a lawless mob in Russia, a party of people in Russia trying to gain power, or the socialists in Ireland; our last two constitutional amendments brought us railroads, steamships, paved streets, and restricted immigration. Yet we suspect that some of these inaccurate young folks could give by heart pages of athletic records. Is it not possible that good teaching might make some of these questions as to current events almost as interesting as Babe Ruth's batting average?

TWO members of the Hapsburg family, one of them a principal Austrian general in the late war for the freedom of small nations, sold a third share in their estates which, scattered in various regions, comprise more than 1,000,000 acres and include a great steel mill in Teschen, to a syndicate of their former enemies, American capitalists, together with a Frenchman formerly associated with Mr. Hoover, and agents of Schneider, the French Krupp. Now these gentlemen have engaged a former French premier to bring action to recover certain of these properties from the liberated nations which have confiscated them. The workers of Teschen may find they have more quarrel with absentee American capitalists plus French lawyers and ex-Archdukes of Austria than ever they had with the political rule of old Franz Josef. The rights of property are more divine today than those of kings.

THE resignation of Henry Goddard Leach as secretary of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and editor of the *American-Scandinavian Review* calls attention to his quiet but singularly effective service to international culture as well as to international friendship. Hamilton Holt, president of the Foundation, credits to Dr. Leach "pretty much everything the Foundation has been able to accomplish in the past decade." He was the guiding spirit in selecting for translation and in publishing the Scandinavian classics whereby the world of English letters has been materially enriched. He inaugurated the exchange of student fellowships between the universities of Scandinavia and America whose benefits are enjoyed this year by twenty American and twenty Scandinavian students. Robert Asal Nordvall, Swedish High Trade Commissioner during the war, has borne testimony that by such work and by his personal relations, Dr. Leach has done more to promote real friendship between the United States and the Scandinavian countries than all the accredited agents of government.

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The Price of Peace

MR. HUGHES has set bounds to oversanguine expectations by reminding us that the coming Washington Conference is not a conference on disarmament, but on the limitation of armaments. He honestly attempts to avoid such tragic disillusionment as followed the Versailles Conference by stemming the extravagant hopes with which men greet these world assizes. The nations are not considering absolute disarmament; they will at most reduce burdens grown well-nigh intolerable. The conference will not achieve even this result without the pressure of public opinion which insists upon open sessions in order that it may secure the necessary information to guide its action. The assembled Lodges and Briands will be quite capable of using the conference to justify rather than to diminish great military establishments unless a resolute public insists upon its desire for constructive action. We are therefore sympathetic with every effort to mobilize the friends of peace behind the conference. But this can only be done intelligently if we face quite frankly the question, What can such a conference accomplish under the most favorable circumstances?

Certain definite things we may with reason hope. Limitation of armaments will: (1) save millions of dollars in taxes at a time when both retrenchment in expenditure and larger outlay for genuine public service are imperatively demanded from all governments; (2) reduce the size of the military caste which in proportion to its strength always and everywhere inculcates that false gospel of militarism which proved so disastrous in Prussia; (3) diminish the appeal to the jingo psychology which is inherent in mighty armadas and the glittering panoply of war; (4) reduce the temptation to business interests which directly or indirectly profit by armament-making to promote war scares in order to market their wares. This particular conference may also reach a *modus vivendi*—not a permanent settlement—in the Far East, giving liberal forces a chance to grow strong in all the countries concerned. (But this result is rendered less likely by the refusal of our Government to include Russia and the Far Eastern Republic in its invitation.) If in addition to whatever it may accomplish in the Far East there were even a remote possibility that the conference might accept the Pope's suggestion of repudiating military conscription, a really great forward step would be taken. This step seems wholly unlikely; nevertheless the conference, especially if its sessions are open, may serve by its discussions to strengthen the will to peace and enlighten those who seek it. These gains are worth achieving, but they do not make peace.

Why? First, because this limitation of armaments is to be based on the preservation of the *status quo* in international relations. To the intelligent Chinese there must be a grim humor in the spectacle of mighty nations indulging in spasms of virtue because they contemplate saving some of the money squandered on competitive armaments. These nations have not even contemplated putting an end to their imperialist program of exploitation; they merely seek a more economical method of carrying it out. Limitation of armaments, like the Versailles League of Nations, is essentially another attempt to substitute an imperialist trust for competitive imperialism. The psychology of imperialism is such that it is not likely to succeed. The old rivalries will remain. What the American "disarmament" (*sic*) advocate really says to England and Japan is: "Let us without altering the ratio of our military and naval power save some money. If we have to fight later, we will all have the same relative military strength." Does this sound cynical? It is virtually the position of so eminent a liberal as Mr. Frank Cobb, editor of the New York *World*, who, in an able article in the August issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* on the Economic Aspects of Disarmament, makes it evident that what he really seeks is not disarmament but cheaper armament. Elaborate military preparation, he argues, is demonstrably futile; victory goes to the nation economically best prepared; to mobilize one thousand chemists may be more important than to mobilize one million men. Aye, there's the rub! Even Mr. Joseph Choate, Jr., counsel to the dye interests, looks with equanimity on "disarmament" if preparation for chemical warfare goes on unchecked. To be sure the call for the conference invites discussion of the limitation of this new and most horrible form of warfare. But to hope for that if war itself is accepted as possible is crazy Utopianism. It is contrary to the logic and history of war. What the Hague Conference could not do to make warfare "humane," Washington will not.

War will never be conquered by so easy a device as limitation of armaments. Its menace will disappear only when men begin to reorganize society so as to remove the causes of war and meanwhile determine that whatever their differences, they will find other means to adjust them. If under the influence of some miraculous wave of enthusiasm every military Power turned its tanks into tractors and sank its ships in the deepest seas, *but kept the same economic and political organization and racial and national prejudices*, there would yet be a new war within a generation as disastrous as any Mr. Wells has foretold.

For the tap-root of modern imperialism, and hence of modern wars, is economic. Mr. H. N. Brailsford before the war gave the brief and classic statement of the case in his "War of Steel and Gold." The rivalries of great nations are at bottom the rivalries of their investors who, under our system of landlordism and of production for private profit rather than for use, have surplus capital on which they can get the largest return by investment in so-called backward lands. The situation Mr. Hsu Chung-Tze describes with regard to the export of American capital to China is a case in point. The rival investors did not deliberately will the tragedy of the Great War; they set in motion the forces which, given the prevailing nationalist psychology, inevitably led to war. And they have learned nothing from the issue of the conflict. Indeed, as Norman Angell has pointed out in his latest book, although the fruits of victory are dust and ashes yet there are more economic motives pushing toward war than before the Peace of Versailles. We have today a far larger degree of state capitalism under which nations as nations monopolize for their nationals natural resources, coal, iron, oil, and food, necessary for the life of their neighbors. In an earlier day, free trade made for peace. It has been defeated, not so much by old-fashioned protectionism, as by this new tendency to national monopolization. The Italians, in spite of many disappointments, still are urging almost as a matter of life and death a reasoned international control of raw materials. Every

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effort, Signor Tittoni told the Williamstown Institute, has failed because of the opposition "of a coalition of economic interests." Such a coalition is the appropriate fruit of our present economic system. Its end is war.

But though economic interests are at the bottom of our troubles, the peril of our present situation is possible only because of the intensity of modern racial and national feeling. The oil barons, for example, however unscrupulously they might grab for vast profits, could not, without the psychology of nationalism and the strange fetish of national honor, persuade even themselves, and certainly not their countrymen, to make war on a weak nation such as Mexico. The cheap patriotism which Lowes Dickinson regards as primarily a war phenomenon is in peace times systematically taught by capitalistically controlled agencies as a means to forestall industrial unrest. A people thus miseducated is only too ready for a fight. We cannot assume that "the people" if only they could get rid of the evil spell of governments would save us from war. It is true that the people would seldom vote for a war in a referendum; it is not true that they accept the psychology which makes peace possible. Most people have some one interest—freedom for this or that oppressed group, security against dangers, real or imagined—for which they care far more passionately and consistently than they do for peace.

Obviously in this situation the peace advocate who relies too much on the Washington Conference leans on a broken reed. Limitation of armaments, like arbitration treaties, world courts, a popular referendum before war, and other alleged panaceas, is worth something. But peace itself cannot be secured at so cheap a price. It requires a revolutionary change in our present politico-economic system and in its accompanying psychology. How can that be brought about? Partly, no doubt, by demonstrating, as Mr. Will Irwin has done so powerfully, the suicidal consequences of a new world war. Yet this alone is far less potent than many think. Mankind which was not scared into virtue by centuries of belief in an eternal hell will not be scared into peace by fear of destruction in a new war. Except Gandhi, no outstanding leader of an oppressed race or class has consistently developed non-violent resistance. Men of independent judgment will tell you that they accept Irwin's thesis, but that nevertheless the United States must be ready for a new war. Could pessimism go farther?

A second service to real peace is the demonstration of the fact that there are only losers in modern war. England, we say, won most in the last war; but save for a few miserable profiteers there is no Englishman who is not poorer for the struggle, no Englishman whose future safety is not more insecure because of the results of what he calls victory. It is logically true that the citizens of a nation which practiced intelligent non-resistance would probably be better off than the subjects of a mighty military power, yet this prudential consideration alone will not stem the tides of pride, fear, hate, and greed, which make for war.

There is a third service which our poets, our writers, and preachers could render. They could strip war both of its glory and its appeal to the ideal. "Thou shalt not make the next war holy," if accepted as a new commandment by the church, would help to avert another war. For soldiers, volunteer or conscript, would not fight for Yap, or the profits of oil barons and other investors. They fight for a menaced fatherland, for liberty, and for all the beautiful ideals which war betrays. Anatole France wisely pointed out that the worst wars are idealist wars. If you fight a man because he has what you want, some sort of settlement is possible; if you fight him because you consider yourself God's agent and him the devil's, there can be no ground for peace.

But beyond these services lies the primary necessity of ending the present chaos of jealous, shortsighted political and economic units competing ruthlessly for the essentials of life which they might enjoy abundantly if only they would cooperate honestly, intelligently, and on a world-wide scale. It is out of this chaos and the spirit which it nourishes that wars inevitably arise. But it is not Utopian to believe that there is in men despite their prejudices an instinct for fellowship which will make possible a peaceful cooperative society. Men have sacrificed incredibly for a vision of national unity and freedom; why may they not for a vision of world unity and freedom? The reorganization of society necessary to peace will involve sacrifice for certain individuals and groups; it will involve infinitely less sacrifice than new world war. It will not, as some Socialists have assumed, be the inevitable achievement of class war; it must be the creation of human intelligence and human will. And the final test of the Washington Conference may well be not the degree in which it lightens stupid and oppressive burdens of armament, but the measure in which it conceals or reveals the truth that peace is neither the product of a diffuse sentimentality, nor attainable by some simple formula, but the consequence of a way of life which hitherto men have rejected in their social, economic, and international relations.

Poison Gas Propaganda

IF it is hard to keep a good man down, it is harder still to do likewise with a bad idea. The demand for a permanent embargo on the importation of foreign dyes was refused at the recent session of Congress, but the propaganda continues and a more determined effort than ever may be looked for when consideration of the tariff is resumed. At the annual meeting of the American Chemical Society just concluded in New York City, Francis P. Garvan, once Alien Property Custodian and now president of the Chemical Foundation, made an address at the conclusion of which a resolution in support of an embargo on dyes was passed. The Chemical Foundation, it will be recalled, received for a nominal $250,000 all of the German dye patents which the office of the Alien Property Custodian took from German interests in the country during the World War. The Chemical Foundation is a corporation owned and controlled by the principal private manufacturers of the country, and as the holder of the monopoly resting in the German patents it is the chief propagandist for an embargo that would also give it a monopoly of the entire American market, secure against world competition. The proffered tariff of 30 per cent on imported dyes is not enough, so American manufacturers declare; they will be content with nothing less than the exclusion of foreign products.

Of course such a demand would be recognized as preposterous were it not based on patriotic grounds. A highly-developed chemical industry, we are told, is essential to the national defense in order that in time of war it may be mobilized for the production of ammunition and poison gases. The chemical possibilities of the future have caught

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the popular imagination. The Sunday newspapers and the popular magazines are full of predictions. Battleships and infantry are already beginning to be looked upon as partially obsolete, so that even the military-minded can look without distress on proposals to reduce them; but chemical warfare —the great destroying agency in the next conflict—must be expanded and developed in every possible way. This is the driving power behind the arguments of the Chemical Foundation. Occasionally they fall on deaf ears as the following colloquy between Senator Penrose, chairman of the Finance Committee, and Mr. Choate, counsel for the dye interests, amusingly shows:

The Chairman (Senator Penrose)—I want to say for myself as one member of the committee that this horrible nightmare does not intimidate me a bit.

Mr. Choate—I admire your courage, Senator.

The Chairman—I do not have any courage. I am naturally a timid Quaker, but these lurid pictures absolutely fall off me in a harmless way.

But generally speaking the public is not unterrified. Chemical disarmament, mental and material, is therefore second to none from the standpoint of the true friend of peace. The scientists who at the recent meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh urged their fellows not to lend their talents to the development of chemical warfare are well advised. But we are bound to say that even if all this is to be ignored, even if we are determined to be the best-prepared nation on earth in respect to chemical warfare, nevertheless a battle-fed dye industry in private hands is no way to go about it. In a circular recently sent out by the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World (which has joined the cry for an embargo on dyes from abroad) the question is put whether it is not "better that the dye business in America be in the hands of a monopoly over which Congress has legislative powers, and the profits of which will remain in this country, than to have a monopoly of our dye business owned by foreign capital." Now it happens that for a paltry $250,000 the nation sold to private interests the German patents which it had taken over, and Congress has no "legislative powers" over the dye industry whatever apart from those that it possesses over all business. As to the profits that "will remain in this country," they will remain with the manufacturers, and like the profits of the Steel Corporation or Standard Oil they will become a charge against and not an asset of the public at large. If the United States is determined to be first in chemical warfare—and the dye industry is essential to that—then the government ought to own the dye industry just as it ought to own the powder and armor-plate factories upon which it depends.

The Menace of Americanism

IF you want to find good, solid, 18-carat Americans who would defy analysis even at the hands of an expert like assayer Lusk, just go to Wyoming. No, we don't mean the Indians. Senator Lusk might have to admit their Americanism, but after all they are hardly, in the sense we and the Senator understand the term, hundred percenters. They are aliens. Just to see them riding along over the prairie roads with their legs dangling below the bellies of their scrawny ponies, flat feet thrust through the stirrups, bright handkerchiefs around their necks, black pigtails over their shoulders, you would know they weren't Americans—not the kind we and the Senator mean, anyway. But the rest of the people are a comfort to those whom the bogy of bolshevism has pressed too close. Their names are pronounceable Anglo-Saxon; their skins are dark with no more deadly taint than the touch of the sun; they are blond, tall, rangy, square-shouldered. They talk American and make jokes no foreigner would ever understand. They know all about prohibition and nothing about bolshevism. Socialist tactics are as Sanskrit to them. They know that horses and women are good only if they are manageable, and worthless if they are ornery or knot-headed. They make you feel that America is, after all, America; manly, unthinking, blond.

As time goes on other more disturbing traits begin to appear in these simple sons of the plains. Here, for instance, are Bert and Charlie sitting sheltered behind a boulder on the saddle of a high windy pass—beyond and on all sides of them, gaunt, ragged piles of snow and granite; and below, a dark lake fed by slow trickles of ice water.

"Well," Charlie says, "when the war came I figured that if the Government wanted me enough to come and get me, I'd go. And I decided that I'd do what they told me just as long as it was reasonable. If they got unreasonable I'd quit right there—no matter what come. Over there in Germany after the armistice I tell you I was in the guard house more'n I was out of it."

"Same here," says Bert, "and now it's done with I'll say I don't see what we got out of it. I don't like the Dutch, mindja, but from all I hear things is getting just the same here as what they was in Germany. Talk, and you go to jail; strike, and they run you out of town; look for a job, and there ain't none. Why, it's got so in Montana they say you can't even pack a gun without a permit."

"I tell you," says Charlie, "if things goes on like they's goin' on, the next war this country'll have will be right inside—fellers fighting for their rights. Revolution, that's what you call it—like in Germany. Bad enough when you can't kill your meat where you want and have to get permits for cuttin' ol' dead timber and buildin' a hut and trappin' and such like. Bad enough with all the laws they got that you can't obey anyhow, and then they're after you when you don't. But when things get so that you can't pack your own gun and say what you like and pick your own job and quit when you want to—why, there'll be war, that's all."

They hear a noise behind them and look around, but it is not Mr. Lusk peering over the boulder. It is only a black-faced marmot, and nothing else is visible except distance and the bare, gray peaks.

"If a feller has guts he got to fight, that's all, or else he got to clear out—stay back here in the mountains where there ain't nobody'll bother him much. There's room still in these parts."

"Yep," says Charlie, with satisfaction. "There's room 'round here, all right. Last winter I trapped in through these mountains; never seen a soul for four months and more. Said anything I goldarned pleased, too," he adds with a grin, "and nobody had a word to say."

And yet who could say that these boys were not Americans? Or is real, old-fashioned, traditional Americanism something just a bit, well, shall we say seditious? Look into it, Senator Lusk—"The extent and aim of Americanism; how it can be rooted out."

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The Farmers' Revolt—Canada's New Group Rule

By A. VERNON THOMAS

SINCE the armistice Canada's political and economic life has furnished the world with several sensational happenings. On July 18 the United Farmers of Alberta, running their candidates on a platform which expressed a frank and firm belief in government by "systematically organized groups," won the provincial general election by a handsome majority. The U. F. A., as the farmers' organization is called, captured 37 seats out of the legislature's 61, while the Liberals' representation was reduced from 34 to 14. A Conservative group of 14 disappeared entirely. Four Labor members were elected and five Independents. The remaining seat is vacant through the death, after election, of a prominent U. F. A. leader following a recent accident.

The result in Alberta—Sunny Alberta, as its inhabitants love to call it—is the latest and most striking sign of an agrarian restlessness that has been showing itself in one form or other throughout the Dominion. To be sure there has never been a time when the farmers were without grievances, but the present movement has spread with the swiftness of a prairie fire. It is characterized by a deep distrust of the traditional political parties and is accompanied by a faith and a fervor little short of religious. When, some two years ago, the farmers of the old province of Ontario entered the election campaign with a Farmers' Party and won more seats than either the Conservative administration or the Liberal opposition, all Canada asked, What next? But, startling as it was, the farmers' advent to power in Ontario was not attended by the misgivings which manifested themselves in many quarters when the result of the recent Alberta election was known. Premier Drury in Ontario was able to carry on only by an alliance with Labor, and cooperation to a certain extent, with the two older parties. His supporters merely enjoyed a plurality of the Ontario legislature, whereas the Alberta farmers have a clear majority. In Manitoba last summer the shock of the new farmers' movement nearly destroyed the Liberal administration of Premier Norris, which, prior to the election, boasted one of the largest followings the Manitoba legislature had ever known. The Liberals found themselves in an actual minority of the House, faced by a few Conservatives and more numerous groups of farmers and labor members. They have been able to carry on only through assistance from one or the other of these groups.

Equally well defined, and perhaps most interesting of all, is the farmers' movement in the Canadian federal field. Even Quebec has felt the sweep of this new broom and may yet join with the other Canadian provinces in sending farmer members to the Ottawa House. An entirely new party, originating with the organized farmers, has already been formed for federal action and is known as the National Progressive Party. Its leader is the Hon. Thomas E. Crerar, formerly a member of Sir Robert Borden's Coalition Cabinet. Following the armistice Mr. Crerar resigned his portfolio of Minister of Agriculture and headed an independent group in the House. To this group accretions have been won by withdrawals from the Coalition Government and through by-elections.

Mr. Crerar is a western Canadian, who for many years past has been a high executive of the farmers' business organization, which markets cooperatively huge quantities of the grain grown in the Canadian prairie provinces. At the present time the western farmers handle about 100,000,000 bushels of their own grain annually and own more than 500 grain elevators. It should be emphasized that Mr. Crerar and his colleagues of the National Progressive Party have declared most clearly that the party, while having a strong agrarian basis, will seek to represent all classes in the community and will ask support from all voters in sympathy with its aims.

The Liberal and Conservative Parties of Canada are now quite resigned to the emergence of this new third party. Moreover, it is conceded that the party will have a large following after the next Dominion election, which may be launched in the late fall of this year, or, if not, will certainly take place in 1922. "As to the result of a general election," says the Ottawa correspondent of the Montreal *Gazette* in a recent dispatch, "there is but one opinion in the capital, which is that there will be four parties in the next Parliament without any of them having a majority. Group government appears to be inevitable." The fourth party referred to is the Labor Party, likewise a new group, to which this correspondent concedes from fifteen to twenty members in the next Ottawa House.

For due appreciation of what recently took place in Alberta it seemed necessary to touch briefly as above on the general and allied movement of the farmers in other provinces and in the Dominion field. In the victory of the United Farmers of Alberta there are features not present, or at any rate much less pronounced, in the farmers' movement elsewhere in the Dominion. What has occasioned most criticism and created most concern is the apparent responsibility of the farmers who now control the Alberta legislature not directly to the people who elected them but to the U. F. A. organization. For instance the platform of the U. F. A. contains the following clauses:

> Our organization is continuously in authority, and while through it we form declarations of principles, or a so-called platform, these are at all times subject to change by the organization.
>
> We are a group of citizens going into political action as an organization. Our elected representatives are at all times answerable to the organization. Each elected representative is answerable directly to the organization in the constituency that elected him.

The apparent conflict of the above with the British tradition of representative government is the text of many editorials appearing in the Canadian dailies and of other pronouncements upon the new Alberta situation. The Hon. George Langley, a Cabinet Minister in the sister province of Saskatchewan, himself a farmer and for years one of the most prominent of the farmers' leaders in western Canada, described the result as "the abrogation of representative government in Alberta." The Manitoba *Free Press* of Winnipeg, the largest and most important daily published in the West, sees in the Alberta situation an experiment, and one which, it says,

> will be watched with interest, and, upon the whole, with sympathetic interest, by the people of Canada. . . . While the

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experiment is being worked out no great harm in any event can result. There are those no doubt who have visions of a handful of theorists and doctrinaires proceeding recklessly in Alberta with a program of destruction; but the men who take office, it is a safe prediction, will be solid citizens with a stake in the country, who can be relied upon to feel their way carefully along a new and unfamiliar road. The state of the money market, with which the new provincial treasurer will make early acquaintance, will preclude any financial adventures.

The Alberta experiment is interesting, and it is essential that it should be given a thorough tryout in order that it may be shown to the satisfaction of all that there is only one kind of government possible in Canada—a government that derives its powers and authority from the people and is bound in return, under penalty of dismissal, to serve their interests as a whole and not merely the interests of a group.

In its declaration of principles the platform of the U. F. A. expresses the belief "that the present unsettled conditions in Canada politically are due in large measure to dissatisfaction with the party system of government." It declares that the present system "has failed to develop a sufficiently close connection between the representative and the elector." Then follows the frankly expressed belief "that individual citizenship can only be made efficient and effective through the vehicle of systematically organized groups."

The platform proper contains among other proposals—proportional representation, direct legislation and recall, administrations to be considered defeated only upon a direct vote of want of confidence, and abolition of the patronage system. Neither these nor the remaining planks can be called revolutionary. They might appear, and indeed in part have appeared, in the platforms of the older parties without creating any particular concern. The point which is absolutely new in British parliamentary traditions is that the U. F. A. members of the Alberta legislature, now in clear control of the House, are responsible primarily to their own private economic organization rather than to their constituencies as a whole.

Behind the success of the United Farmers of Alberta bulks largely the inspiration and energy of Henry W. Wood, the president of the organization. Mr. Wood farmed for many years in Missouri before removing to Carstairs, a few miles north of Calgary, to become an Alberta farmer. He is a quiet thoughtful man of great influence. His platform speeches possess a certain religious quality and it is difficult to think of a movement in which Mr. Wood has had so large a hand degenerating into anything like mere materialism. Five years ago Mr. Wood organized "U. F. A. Sunday" in Alberta, the idea being to get the farmers' movement and the churches in sympathetic contact. In the course of this effort Mr. Wood asked:

> Is Christ to develop the individuals and Carl Marx mobilize and lead them? Is Christ to hew the stones and Henry George build them into the finished edifice? If Christ cannot mobilize his forces and build true civilization His name will be forgotten in the earth. The solution of the economic problems must be spiritual rather than intellectual. This is the work of the church and the church must take the responsibility for it.

On the question of the class-organization of the farmers Mr. Wood has no doubts whatever. He is wholeheartedly in favor of it. He denies, however, that there is any analogy between the Alberta movement and that of the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota and other States. In his opinion the Nonpartisan League is a mistake because, he says, it is a political movement in spite of its name. The Alberta farmers, Mr. Wood declares, will make a cardinal mistake if they ever leave "the rock-bottom of economic class-organization." In support of this he instances the agrarian movement in the States, which in the nineties polled some 1,250,000 votes, but which, after affiliating with the Knights of Labor, cast in the succeeding presidential election only 102,000 ballots. "Today," says Mr. Wood, "there are no efficient groups except the plutocratic, and all plutocratic class spokesmen, including those newspapers which are controlled by this class, urge you not to organize as a class, because they know that as soon as you form a mongrel organization they have you in their power."

The relations between the farmer and labor parties of Canada are likely to become increasingly important. In most of the provinces there are now labor parties and there is certain to be one in the Dominion House after the next election. In Alberta ten labor candidates went to the polls and four of them secured election. The tie that binds farmer and labor man in Canada is, however, not yet strong. In Alberta in the recent election, the marriage, if there was one at all, was one of convenience. In the Edmonton constituency, which comprises besides Alberta's capital city a rural fringe, the U. F. A., after lengthy negotiations, agreed to support the one U. F. A. candidate and the four labor candidates for the five seats. However, all five seats were won by the Liberals, Mrs. Nellie L. McClung, the authoress, being among the five.

It remains to be said that Mr. Wood and all the spokesmen of the U. F. A. stated most emphatically, after their victory, that the U. F. A. administration would govern in the best interests of every class in the province. The new Premier of Alberta is Herbert Greenfield, who came to Canada from England at the age of twenty-three as a homesteader and who has become one of the most successful farmers in Alberta. One of Mr. Greenfield's first remarks on being elected to the premiership was the following: "I will do my best for the farmers and all classes of the province of Alberta."

But the movement of the farmers in Alberta, coming as it does in a group by nature conservative, and among people of a race deeply grounded and traditionally adherent to certain other principles of representative government, cannot but be considered as a fundamentally important indication of present-day evolution, or if you will, revolution.

Homecoming in Storm

By BERNICE LESBIA KENYON

The ocean thunders in the caverned sky,
And gulls fall straight against a crest of foam,
The black wind roars to bring the great storm by,
And all my sails are full to bear me home!
Thus I come in with rain, and salty lips
Crusted with spray, and eyes that see for miles
Over the harbor bar, to the huddled ships,
And docks, and roofs, and maple-darkened aisles.

The rain smells all of maple and of hay,
And now I put the sea behind my back,
And cross the streets and fields in the old way,
With all the clouds above me hanging black,
And stand here in the rain before your door
Moveless with joy, to know you near once more.

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Where Is the Tax Burden Going?

By WHIDDEN GRAHAM

UNDER cover of a movement for what is termed "tax revision," a nation-wide propaganda is being conducted by various "business" organizations for the purpose of securing the abolition of the surtax on incomes and the excess-profits tax. Behind their prattle about "oppressive tax burdens," and the need for greater economy in government, stands out one fact: the merchants, manufacturers, bankers, brokers, and corporations want to get rid of taxes that they are now paying, and are willing that the loss in revenue should be made up by a sales tax that will not only add the amount of the tax to the cost of living, but will compel the consumer to pay pyramided taxes and profits. The purpose of this accelerated demand for "tax revision" is therefore clear—to shift taxes from those best able to pay, the small but influential minority, and lay them upon the general public. Now all this agitation is perfectly legitimate. If the financiers and big business men want to get rid of taxes, they have a right to agitate for legislation lifting their burdens. But their propaganda, based on disingenuous misrepresentations and abetted by a large section of the press, should be subjected to rigid inspection by the public it is designed to impress.

The main argument for repeal of the surtax on income is that this tax is one of the chief causes of "poor trade, tight money, diminished enterprise and employment." As it was stated by a prominent advocate of repeal in a speech before the Pittsburgh Traffic Club: "Capital has been driven from the highways of trade because the Government lies in wait and exacts a large toll, going up to three-quarters of the wayfarer's income." This tax, he declared, forces the investment of capital in untaxed bonds, thus depriving trade and industry of capital urgently needed.

Both of these statements are unfounded. It is not true that our present industrial depression, with its 5,000,000 idle workers, is due to lack of capital caused by the income tax. In the first place, there is no immediate need for capital to build more mills and factories. Our existing factories in practically every line of industry can produce more goods in nine months than we can consume in a year. With thousands of mills closed or running on half-time, with many of those producing unable to find markets for their products, it is evident that what the country needs to restore prosperity is not capital for new industries, but increased purchasing power by the 100,000,000 consumers. Present conditions, we are told, are due to overproduction. This also, of course, is not true. The real trouble is underconsumption, since millions of men and women need more and better food, clothing, furniture, and all kinds of goods. In any case, it is clear that putting more capital into industry could not materially help, so long as the mass of consumers cannot buy back the value of their labor product.

Nor is it true that investment of money in untaxed bonds deprives trade and industry of needed capital. If Mr. A., in order to escape taxation, buys a million dollars' worth of untaxed bonds from Mr. B., the latter has $1,000,000, which he will either loan or invest. The game of avoiding taxes by buying bonds cannot go on indefinitely. No matter how often repeated, the process ends as it began, with someone having $1,000,000 to invest. There is no less money because of a change in its ownership.

The arguments in favor of repealing the excess-profits tax are equally unfounded. It is claimed that this tax is shifted to the consumer, and so pyramided, with added profits, that it adds 23 per cent to the cost of commodities. No proof of this assertion has ever been furnished, and the fact that the big corporations are spending money to have the tax repealed is fair evidence that they have not been able to shift it to the consumers of their products. If it were true that this tax is shifted, why are the corporations so anxious to get rid of it?

As a substitute for the surtax on incomes and the excess-profits tax the interests paying these taxes are urging the adoption of what is termed a sales tax, or tax on the manufacture and sale of goods. Various forms of this tax are advocated, but all agree that their purpose is to lift the taxes from great incomes and the excess profits of corporations. Against this proposal to add to the cost of living by taxing commodities the farmers and organized labor have vigorously protested, and their influence was sufficiently powerful to prevent the inclusion of any form of a tax on sales in the "tax-revision" bill passed by the House.

The advocates of the sales tax are now concentrating their efforts on the Senate. It seems unquestionable that the surtax on incomes will be drastically cut—at least 50 per cent, according to the expressed views of the majority of the Senate Finance Committee, of which Senator Penrose is chairman. Senator Smoot, who holds ideas on tax revision materially at variance with the other members of this committee, is nevertheless also in favor of cutting surtaxes to a 32 per cent maximum "so as to discourage investments in tax-free securities" and a "3 per cent manufacturer's sales tax," which he describes as "to be imposed only on the manufactured article and therefore does not pass to the retailers or the jobbers." How a tax which raises the price of an article is to be exorcised from being passed on remains a mystery. Secretary Mellon has declared in favor of repealing excess-profits taxes and with President Harding has even been demanding a retroactive repeal to last January 1. Indeed the party in power is committed body and soul to the relief of "business." For the man in the street, for the average consumer, for the millions who, we are often told, "are America," whatever the Administration professes, it cares and does nothing. If there is one amendment to our present tax laws which ought to be made retroactive it is surely the raising of exemptions for men with large families, or the lowering of the percentage of tax charged on the first thousands of income. The Republican Administration, however, starts from the other end. Its chief concern appears to be the lowering of the tax burdens of the wealthy. And only a determined stand by the Senators from the great agricultural States, who recently have shown signs of intelligent cooperation, will defeat the purposed shifting of the tax to the consuming public. For there is no justification for the sales tax. It is impractical, costly, and wasteful in its administration, directly inhibitive of all efforts to reduce the cost of living, and designed merely to fill in the deficit which will inevitably confront the Treasury when the returns hitherto paid into it by corporations and individuals of means are cut off.

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Sunkist Prisoners

By CATHERINE HOFTELING

THIS is no brief for syndicalism. Syndicalism is criminal. The courts of California and of most of the Western States have declared it. Syndicalism is an economic theory. Those who believe in it either keep still and out of prison or declare their beliefs and go over the road to Siberia. Those who do not believe in it would not be won by argument, because after all it is not a case for logic but one of economic determinism. So we won't argue but agree with the courts that syndicalism is criminal.

Like a row of houses in a company street, exactly alike but for the inmates, the trials against syndicalists proceed, not against the individuals but against their organization. In every case the same two witnesses, in every case the same story of how these two witnesses burned wheat fields four summers ago, in every case the same reading from the same isolated passages in the same I. W. W. literature, the same arguments against the theory, and the same type of bourgeois jury.

All this naturally is expensive to the State, and so the last legislature passed a thrift amendment to the syndicalism act which makes a blanket indictment of radicals possible. The next legislature may vote to shoot them on sight. It would be much cheaper.

Sometimes it seems that this thing we call history records a change in nothing but symbols for the same old tricks and tragedies. It is so with the syndicalism act. Certainly those responsible for the prosecution and persecution of the I. W. W. should know that causes have always been vitalized by these procedures. It would seem that the ages would have taught the authorities a more efficient method, and sometimes it seems that a sense of humor might save them from their own futility. But, no. Persecution and a steady increase in martyrs: that is the sequence in California.

It is an old story, and yet these trials are unique in that the man on trial as an individual is no factor in the case. He may be a mere boy, with a character of virgin purity; he may be a poet; he may be just an honest son-of-a-gun harvest hand—it makes no difference. With disconcerting irony the forty criminal syndicalism prisoners now in California disprove all theories concerning "Reds." They are of old American stock, Graham, Sherman, Hooker, Lewis, Gibbs, Welton, Fruit, Bentley, Price, Edwards, Allen; two are overseas veterans; one, a volunteer, was arrested in Oakland for presiding at an open-forum meeting; two out of the three foreign born are Holland intellectuals, university bred—all strangely unorthodox criminals.

On the other hand the two professional witnesses both have unenviable reputations, one of them having served time for burglary at San Quentin and having besides an unspeakably immoral record. None of this matters. It is a weird and ghastly thing in the annals of justice that two men may go about, even away up to Washington, or as far east as Kansas, testifying against and sending to prison for their beliefs hundreds of men whom they have never seen. Often it makes the jurors nervous to send to prison these apostles of syndicalism on the word of a Judas. Recently a woman juror came to the attorney for the defense after the infamous conviction of young James Price and said that she hadn't slept a night since. The lawyer advised her in a motherly sort of way to study economics and "cut out" the sentiment.

The testimony of these two professional stools has been so all-sufficient in California to convict promiscuously all Industrial Workers that the press has not found it necessary of late to aid the prosecution by aggressive propaganda against them. The papers have grown so lax that this bad break actually appeared in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of June 24:

> Within the past five days fires which have burned in the grain fields of Contra Costa County and which have originated in all cases from clearing fires on the Southern Pacific right of way or from cigarette stubs carelessly discarded, have wrought damage estimated at $60,000. Farmers in the county are everywhere indignant and have announced their intention of going before the board of supervisors and asking for legislation which will prevent the railroads from starting clearing fires without ample fire protection to keep them under control.

This slip was exceptional and will probably not occur again. It is the custom to lay all fires, by innuendo at least, to the I. W. W. And now there is beginning a systematic campaign to blame all unemployment riots throughout the West to the same source. An I. W. W. is convenient. The East should have one too. There is no doubt that this insistent persecution of the I. W. W., together with the flagrant misrepresentation by the press, would in time break at least the physical strength of the organization. But concurrently outside forces are steadily coming to its aid. This article is written in no spirit of prophecy, but merely as an interpretative record of what is actually taking place.

Recently two meetings were held in San Francisco openly under the auspices of the I. W. W. Jack Tanner, representing the Workers' Committee Movement of England, was the speaker at both. The first meeting was so packed and so enthusiastic that another was arranged at which on a twenty-four-hour notice 2,000 marine transport workers assembled.

This last meeting was significant—a quiet gathering almost somber in its earnestness. The men assembled were not conscious revolutionists but robust, serious, steady men plainly ready for a new labor theory. It was not any quick anger at the old form of labor organization that impelled them but a deliberate consideration of the new. From the reactions to the speaker and from the quick sure questions that followed, these aspirations apparently dominated their thought: A rank and file organization in lieu of the dominance of leaders, solidarity of one industrial union rather than craft unionism, and radical departure from the idea that there can be any compromise between producers and owners.

All this while not conclusive is at least indicative of the tendencies of American labor. This is sure, however, that if the I. W. W. has developed into a stable, dignified labor organization prepared to receive those who are ready for it, it has become so through persecution. Persecution has weeded from its ranks the adventurer, the weak, the wild, and the unsteady. Those who have the stamina to face a one-to-fourteen-year sentence in Federal penitentiaries must necessarily be princes among labor theorists. It is men such as these who command the respect of contemporary labor. To these men the organization has been the thing and jail an unhappy incident. To the courts of California which have declared syndicalism to be criminal their answer is: "If this be treason make the most of it."

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The Progress of Poetry: Spanish—II

By THOMAS WALSH

So much has been written in English regarding the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío that it seems hardly necessary here to do more than to express profound admiration for his transcendent genius. His name will serve to introduce us to the poetry of South America which he has so deeply affected with his inspiration and reforms. His "Azul" and "Cantos de vida y esperanza" are sacred books in the hands of the youth of Spain and the Americas, for to the end of his life he remained the singer of

> The hour of sunset and the hidden kiss;
> The hour of gloaming twilight and retreat;
> The hour of madrigal, the hour of bliss,
> Of "I adore thee" and "Alas" too sweet.

In Dr. Isaac Goldberg's "Studies in Spanish-American Literature" may be found an excellent discussion of the qualities of Darío, as well as his place in the Modernist reform movement.

It seems but a short step from a general consideration of Spanish literature to turn to New Granada or Colombia, for, as Juan Valera declares, "Colombian literature is a part of Spanish literature, and will continue so as long as Colombia remains what it is." This peculiar intimacy in letters, in spite of revolutionary animus, has resulted in an abundant poetical harvest with its greatest days during the lives of Rafael Pombo, author of a great ode on our Niagara; José Eusebio Caro; and his son Miguel Antonio Caro, who have in turn been succeeded by an intermediate school headed by Antonio Gómez Restrepo, among whose poems we find this interesting contrast—Toledo:

> Perched on its yellow peak beneath a sky
> Inclement as of Africa, there lifts
> Toledo, with its brows of wrinkled rifts
> Crowned with the belfries of long gone by.

And The Generalife:

> Alone it stands, an idle heap of dust,
> The dreamland Arab palace on its hill;
> And should Boabdil, its old lord, come still,
> His grief would find an equal in its rust.
> The sweet Granada spring herself doth trust
> Ungrudging here, and her green charms fulfil;
> The fountains play, and dream would have its will
> Over the perfumes spilled on every gust.

Gómez Restrepo is ably seconded by José Joaquín Casas, author of "Cronicas de Aldea," and at present the president of the Colombian Senate; there is also the poet of "Margarita," Diego Uribe, and Max Grillo, with his beautiful sonnet At the Angelus:

> In silent rapture fallen there I seem
> To hear among the bells thy voice's sound,
> O mother mine, an echo through my dream!

The young Modernists take their cue from José Asunción Silva, one of the greatest, if indeed not the very greatest, of modern Spanish poets. Born in Bogotá in 1865 this young genius ended his own life in 1896, after developing a style of unusual purity and fire largely based upon his devotion to the French Baudelaire and our own Poe. His poems, published in book form only after his death, bear these lines as a foreword, For the Reader's Ear:

> No real passion was it;
> Only a vague tenderness
> Such as moves the breast of children ill,
> As in the starry nights of times gone by.

And in the lines from his poem, Art, we find the doctrine of the complete Parnassian:

> Verse is a chalice; place within it only
> A stainless thought.

In the stanza from his Serenata we can hear the old romantic note of the followers of Victor Hugo tuned to a finer key:

> The street is lonely, the night is chill,
> The moon is out with her clouds surrounding;
> The lofty lattice is barred and still,
> And the trembling notes are sounding, sounding
> To the firm, light touch of fingers strong,
> While a voice pours tender words afar,
> And the fragile strings their woes prolong
> From the guitar.

In the opening lines of his famous Nocturno we have another evocation of Ulalume and the pallid face of Ligeia:

> One night,
> One night all full of murmurs, of perfumes and the brush of wings,
> Within whose mellow nuptial glooms there shone fantastic fireflies,
> Meekly at my side, slender, hushed, and pale,
> As though with infinite presentment of woe
> Your very depths of being were troubled,
> By the path of flowers that led across the plain,
> You came treading,
> And the rounded moon
> Through heaven's blue and infinite profound was shedding whiteness.

Successor to this great genius by right of very superior gifts and a noble culture is the poet Guillermo Valencia of Popayán, giving us, in what is perhaps his greatest poem, the Reading Silva, a picture of his famous model:

> Who in the calmness of the somber night
> Gave his life-poem to its final flight;
> Bloodless as marble in Athenian shrine,
> A gladiator slain on Aventine.
> His face the gentle seal of Fatehood bore,
> With grace the stigmatized Assisian wore;
> In love with life, and leaving Fate his curse,
> He scorned the world to polish forth a verse.

In Julio Flórez of Baranquilla we find a poet of unusual imagination, especially in such a poem as Deeper, Deeper:

> Dig and dig and dig, grave-digger,
> Make that hole deep, wider, bigger;
> Dig with singing, dig with humming;
> Do not fear, there's no one coming;
> No one will molest Death's keeper;
> Dig much deeper, deeper, deeper.

In Luis Carlos López of Cartagena there is also a poet of extraordinary graphic power; he has recently published some free verse in which we find this curious description of a motor-car turning a corner:

> In a whirl
> A motor swings round a corner;
> The sudden sight makes the vision blink

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And with a stroke of magic seems to show
Some bow-legged Turk on crutches—
Some Turk that angered at losing his poor balance
Is thrown on his paws and barks out furiously.

Considerations of space alone prevent us from giving more than a mention to important modern Colombian poets like Ismael Arciniegas, Alfredo Gómez Jaime, Victor Londoño, Luis María Mora, A. Z. López Penha, José Eustasio Rivera, Delio Seravile, Miguel Rasch Isla, and Roberto Liévano.

The poetical progress of Peru may be summed up in the career of José Santos Chocano, a great American voice in poetry. Again we refer the reader to Dr. Goldberg's "Studies in Spanish-American Literature" for a proper consideration of his work. Peru is also the fatherland of Ricardo Palma, who in the course of his long lifetime revealed that rare quality in Spanish poetry—humor. A little thing is all we can quote, Curiosity:

'Twas not in any idle gallantry,
My lovely Miss,
I whispered thee across the balcony:
"Thy feet I kiss."
Since then by chance I've seen those little feet
Unshod and bare,
And questions passionate and indiscreet
Have brought me care.
In constant curiosity mine eyes
Search through the blue
To find the cherub cobbler of the skies
Who makes thy shoe.

Prominent among the younger poets are José Galvez, Leonidas N. Yérovi, Felipe Sassone, José E. Loro, Jaime Landa, and José María Eguren.

In Chile, popularly supposed to be the least poetical nation of South America, we find a remarkable flowering of Modernists. Through the joint influences of Darío and Chocano the writers of Chile were early indoctrinated in the new literary gospels, and we have already famous figures in Diego Dublé Urrutia, Manuel Magallanes Moure, Samuel A. Lillo, Luis Felipe Contardo, Carlos Pezoa Véliz—this last with a remarkable poem The Hospital:

Athwart the fields the drops are falling
Softly, gently, on the plains;
And through the drops a grief is calling—
It rains.

There is also a very fine poetess in Lucilla Godoy (Gabriela Mistral), author of distinguished sonnets. To be mentioned also is Carlos Prendez Saldías, a poet of superior qualities, whose Let Pass the Wind has these charming lines:

Close up the window looking down the path;
My song surviveth in the gloom apart.
The fair companion no desire hath
To come today to join us, O my heart!
And let the morning take its sunny bath
Against the balcony with its oldtime art,
The while within my painstruck breast the wrath
Like prayer to paroxysm turned, shall start.
Close up the window looking down the path,
And let the wind pass, O my heart!

Victor Domingo Silva is greatly admired by the Chileans as a poet of great, if uneven, merit. His Regreso is fine poetry. There is also the very modern Modernist, Victor Huidobro.

In Juan Antonio Perez Bonalde Venezuela hails the first of her new poets, and he has been ably seconded in verse and criticism by our doughty South American opponent, Rufino Blanco Fombona, associated in Paris with the reforms inaugurated by Rubén Darío. There were also the two poets Manuel and Ramon Pimentel Coronel. The literary strength of Venezuela seems to lie in the novel and the essay.

The founding of the *Revista Latina* attracted all the modern spirits in Spanish America to Buenos Aires as a center; and chief among the poets to demonstrate the new message was the Parnassian Leopoldo Diaz, author of some beautiful sonnets in the clear, logical manner of French literature. His comrade in the ranks, Leopoldo Lugones, has achieved a larger following by a vivid singing of the native beauties of his country. These lines from his Autumnal Sweetness are characteristic of his lyric manner:

A bird is lost within the distant skies;
Within the garden droop the alien flowers,
As though they breathed in their expiring sighs
Some ecstasy of love's remembered hours.
There is a holy light upon the heaven,
A twitter from the nests. In its recess
A marble fountain sheds its tearful leaven,
A dripping hymnal to forgetfulness.

One of the leading figures among the younger poets of Buenos Aires is Bartolomé Galindez, in whose volume "Venezia Dorada" we find the magic lines:

Delights and glories! Sailors old recline
And gaze upon the sea through cups of wine,
On terraced balconies, where gleam, through spears,
Dalmatia, Negropont, and Cyprus—shields
Of basalt on Rialto's moonlit fields
Of water, 'mid the songs of gondoliers.

From the sister capital across the bay, from ardent Montevideo, we have perhaps the greatest and most modern of all these South American singers, Julio Herrera y Reissig, a small part of whose work has only recently been collected in a volume, "Los peregrinos de la piedra," showing the powerful disorder of a vast mind and a culture not altogether alien to the countrymen of Edgar Allan Poe. His series of fantastic odes has roused some of the critics to question the actual sanity of Herrera y Reissig; such a passage for instance as this from the Lunatic Festival:

With a sleepless old neuralgia,
One, the yawning clock doth mark;
Moonlight through a German park
Drags along its white neuralgia.
Moans the pine with its nostalgia
Like the Archpriest's Latin prayer;
And the windmill mutters there
Like a balmy dragon-fly
Fixed beneath a pin to ply
Against heaven's casement bare.

In his sonnets there is extraordinary graphic power; in such lines as these he is very typical:

Across her withered breasts there lay a bar
Of funeral asphodel betouched with blight;
A dubious moon with duplicate horn bedight
Stared at the dog that bayed an icy star.

Other Urugayan poets are Victor Arreguine and Rafael Fragueiro, Santiago Maciel, and Carlos Roxlo. There are also charming poets in Delmira Agustini and in Alvaro Armando Vasseur, of the Pantheistic, mystical order much affected in the advanced cities of South America.

Again in conclusion we would point out the importance in any study of Hispanic Modernism in poetry of the work of Rubén Darío and José Santos Chocano.

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China, Profiteers' Paradise, and Disarmament

By HSU CHUNG-TZE

CHINA is about to become the profiteers' paradise, thanks to America. You Americans know nothing of what is going on. You are blind; and in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king. Your one-eyed rulers are clever and move quietly in the dark. They are on the verge of consummating a plan which will cheat you of billions, help China a little, and enrich themselves inordinately.

The plan has two parts. One is the bankers' consortium, the other the impending China Trade Act; both so very good in many ways that nobody suspects either. You Americans are not discussing the consortium, and you do not even know about the China Trade Act, although it has passed your House of Representatives and a Senate committee. But we Chinese, who are the unwilling objects of both schemes, have studied them with dismay and shall tell you things that will amaze you.

The consortium had three admirable features. It aimed to end the vicious intrigues of promoters and money lenders in China by bringing the great rivals together and dividing the spoils fairly. It sought to force our corrupt officials to spend government loans wisely and on enterprises of public benefit. And it made a brave but ludicrous effort to break the strangle hold of Japan on Manchuria and Mongolia. We Chinese hope that some day the consortium will achieve these worthy goals. We fear, though, that the one-eyed rulers of America will spoil everything in their zeal to dodge taxes. To the consortium they would add the China Trade Act, which will make our land a profiteers' paradise.

This act they devised some five years ago, as soon as Europe's war had begun to enrich you Americans. And it was this sudden wealth that was its cause. You know the war brought fortunes chiefly to your six mightiest groups; namely, those who traffic in steel, powder, oil, cotton, and tobacco, and lastly the bankers who financed all these and served the warring governments. All together, these groups amassed several billions; and straightway they wondered how and where to invest it all.

They saw that Germany and Great Britain had forsaken the Far Eastern markets, which, as the oil and tobacco groups and the bankers well knew, were the richest in the world. And they foresaw tremendous taxes at home, which every patriot would seek to dodge, even as we do in China. How nice it would be to shift all those billions to the Far East!

Their wise men fell to scheming. They found that the shift required three steps: (1) Protecting the billions against wars, rebellions, thievery, and political intrigue; (2) creating a sound banking organization to invest the billions; (3) dodging American taxes without thereby forfeiting American protection.

The first step might be taken in one of two ways, with a powerful navy or else through the international control of China. Some one-eyed rulers favored the navy and some international control. Today it appears that the navy scheme will win, in spite of your much-advertised Disarmament Conference, which is causing many smiles west of Shanghai. The second step might be taken either by individual banks or by an international consortium. The consortium is the better way and has been openly chosen. The third step is delicate and dangerous. It has been taken in the dark, and the less said about it the better—for the one-eyed. To have the free use of American battleships in China and the support of your State Department for the consortium, without paying a cent of taxes to America on the money and property thus protected—that is no simple trick to turn. But the China Trade Act bids fair to turn it—perhaps before you read these lines.

The bill providing for the control and protection of American trade in the Far East is 99 per cent wise, admirable, and well drawn. It would help American business men in China by providing strict laws of incorporation for Far Eastern companies, by creating the much-needed commercial courts, and by establishing a system of inspection and audits to exterminate the swindlers who now prey on China Coast. Your honorable American needs all these services, and some day you must give them to him. And this is why the one-eyed tax dodgers have used them as a screen for their stratagems. The clever thief hides in the temple; or, as you say, the wolf wears sheep's clothing. The bulk of the China Trade Act is so undeniably good that it serves beautifully to hide a "joker."

Here is the "joker" which the one-eyed have smuggled into the measure. It is provided that every American corporation doing business in the Far East will be exempted from all income and excess-profits taxes on revenues derived from transactions in the Far East. How do the one-eyed defend this clause? Very neatly! They say that, without it, no American firm can compete with the British or Japanese because the latter have been relieved of all home taxes by their obliging governments. Plainly a concern that must pay America's crushing war taxes as well as the Chinese taxes cannot hold its own against one which pays no war taxes. The one-eyed point to several worthy American firms, mostly in Shanghai, which have been hard hit by such uneven competition. And they declare that, unless the handicap is removed, you Americans will be driven from foreign trade, which spells national ruin. "For how can America prosper," they cry, "with our immense factories and vast free capital unless we sell and invest abroad?"

Knowing nothing of foreign lands and their trade, you Americans are easily swayed by such an argument. But we Chinese laugh at it. It is one-eyed nonsense. Japan and Great Britain do exempt their nationals from home taxes on profits earned in the Far East. Why? Because these crowded islanders of the East and the West must sell abroad or starve, as they must buy much of their food and most of their other necessities abroad. And their exploiting classes take advantage of this genuine need to escape taxes. But you continentals do not need that kind of foreign trade. America can both feed and clothe you. Her fields and forests and mines can give you almost everything save rubber, tin, and a few other items; and all these you can already pay for in abundance out of your natural surplusages. Normally your domestic trade is six or seven times as vast as your foreign traffic; and it must remain so for many years to come.

As for competing with other industrial lands in our markets, nine out of every ten American manufacturers cannot

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do it even if relieved of taxes, both at home and in the Far East. Your standards of living prevent them; and I hope they always will. Last summer, in open competition, the Belgians underbid the British by almost one-third on a large order for locomotives and cars for our Chinese railways; and the American prices were much higher than the British. Our own mills are now furnishing steel bridge plates to the Canton-Hankow road at from 10 to 15 per cent below the lowest American bids. At that, our mill owners make 100 per cent profit or better, while yours are selling very close. The situation is even worse with ordinary textiles and many other lines. Here Germany, Japan, and our own factories triumph over you. Truth is, America has only three notable openings in China. One is for your monopoly goods, such as cheap automobiles, sewing machines, tobacco, and the like. One is for your precious raw materials, oil, copper, lead, timber; and some agricultural products, chiefly long staple cotton. And one is for free capital. Your monopoly goods we have to buy; so their makers need no tax exemption to retain their trade. Your raw materials we must go on buying for many years to come, at least until Siberia is well exploited; for no other land can furnish us with enough of them. Hence your miners, your lumbermen, and your cotton growers do not depend on any tax exemption. But it is different with the owner of free capital, in one slight respect.

Free capital moves from regions of low return to those of high return. The world being today nine-tenths undeveloped, and the undeveloped regions being politically weak, your owner of free capital is rushing into them because there he finds profits ranging from 100 to 10,000 per cent. Why linger in Europe and America, where a stern tax system and moderately high development hold profits down below 100 per cent almost invariably? Why not rush off to China, where a 100 per cent return is hardly thought worthy of boasts? Ah, but what if the American tax collector pursues you? Then you are not much better off than if you had stayed home; your wonderful melons will all be shipped to Washington and eaten. Here then is the difference between your manufacturers and miners and farmers, on the one hand, and your bankers and their clients on the other. The former, if exempted from home taxes at the selling end in the Far East, would, at the very best, do nothing more than hold their own against the British and Japanese and Germans, on a basis of 10 to 30 per cent profit. Exempt your bankers and their clients, though, and they will, within five years, invest a billion dollars in China which will eventually earn from 100 to 1,000 per cent, provided your Government affords military and diplomatic protection.

You now understand that little clause in the China Trade Act. And you know why your great war lord, General Wood, is out in the Philippines proving that the islands must be annexed and converted into the world's greatest naval base. You know the Republican Party's intense eagerness to reach a quick working basis with Japan and Great Britain for managing our unhappy China. You know why your newspapers have printed nothing about the China Trade Act. And you need not marvel, if, in another year, the receipts from your excess-profits taxes shrink strangely. In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king. From our great distance it seems to us that your one-eyed rulers' program will be carried out. You will soon be supporting a navy in the Far East to aid your giant tax dodgers smuggle their billions out of reach—and that is one reason why the prospects of real disarmament are not so good, not so good. For China is perhaps not the only spot where your capital exports itself and disports itself. The bigger the taxes at home, the more capital must be sent overseas to escape them; and the more is sent, the bigger, naturally, must be the navy to protect it. And the bigger the navies of the several and contending interested Powers, the more likelihood of war. And the more war the more taxes. Of course the blind cannot be expected to see it. Perhaps that is why the "great race" is passing.

In the Driftway

SOMETIMES the Drifter has to smile—in a superior way, of course—when he hears people talk of the way in which the automobile has opened up hitherto inaccessible country. Quite so—for those who have automobiles. For others, the motor-car has closed hitherto accessible country by destroying railroad and trolley car service and public stage lines. Two instances out of many may be cited. The Drifter goes sometimes to a small town in Connecticut once served fairly well by railroad train and trolley car. Well, the trains have been cut and the trolley line is now abandoned, leaving stranded a number of persons who bought land and built homes along it, yet who own none of the motor-cars that made the route unprofitable.

* * * * *

THE other instance is a village in New Hampshire twelve miles from the railroad. Until recently a stage made the trip twice a day at a charge of fifty cents per passenger; but the service is now discontinued. Not that the population has dwindled. On the contrary, it has considerably increased, at least in summer. But nearly all of the summer residents and many of the natives now own automobiles and the demand for a public conveyance has therefore dropped. In consequence, when the Drifter—and some others who do not carry pocket automobiles—arrive by train they have to pay $5 to a garage owner for a ride that once cost fifty cents; that last twelve miles from the railway station is more expensive than the entire trip from Boston by train.

* * * * *

THE effort of certain New Yorkers to demolish by a suit in court the "cover charge" which some restaurants are now making voices the irritation of many over a custom supposedly borrowed from Europe but actually hopelessly corrupted in transit. As levied here, the cover charge is a compulsory blanket assessment for nothing in particular; it commonly includes bread and butter, but the supply is meager and a second charge is added if more is ordered. In the unpretentious eating places of Paris, on the other hand, the tables are commonly without cloths. One may eat thus if one chooses; likewise for a few cents one may have a napkin in one's lap and another spread on the table. One used to pay for one's bread according to the number of pieces that is eaten. A just and satisfactory arrangement all around. In the more pretentious places all the tables have cloths and the *couvert* fee is obligatory, but it includes *pain à discretion*—as much bread as one wants. Our corrupted cover charge is certainly irritating, but it is not equally certain that it is illegal.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Beware Circumstantial Evidence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is too late to give Brandon a new trial, but it is not too late to do that approximation of justice to Sacco and Vanzetti. The mere fact that they were confined in a cage during trial would seem to me in itself ground for a new trial. It is difficult to conceive of a juryman's mind being immune to that singular proceeding.

All skepticism nowadays seems to be concentrated on the alibi and all credulity on the prosecution's identification.

The people in this valley have excellent grounds for looking askance on circumstantial evidence in murder cases. A hundred years ago last winter Russell Colvin, for the murder of whom Stephen Bourn was awaiting execution, was brought home alive from New Jersey. The reverberations of our churchbell ringing on that day still sound in our ears as modern juries continue to dismiss the more than reasonable doubt.

Manchester, Vermont, September 2 S. N. CLEGHORN

The Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My attention has been called to the article by Alice Riggs Hunt in your issue of August 24 in which she says of the Women's International League Congress at Vienna: "No one, however, was satisfied with the Congress. The conservative delegates vaguely said that they had hoped for something better, while the radicals declared in no uncertain terms that the Congress had sidestepped on every important principle and method which could be calculated to further permanent peace."

In order to cheer the absolute pacifists—the left wing of the dove—I want your readers to know of the remarkable conference held at Niagara Falls, Ontario, August 19–21, under the auspices of the Women's Peace Society. At that conference women of Canada and the United States formed a union based on the principle of absolute non-resistance. The name of the new organization is the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere. Any woman living in the Western Hemisphere may join if she makes the following affirmation: "I affirm it is my intention never to aid in or sanction war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, in any way, whether by making or handling munitions, subscribing to war loans, using my labor for the purpose of setting others free for war service, helping by money or work any relief organization which supports or condones war." The new organization adopted as its program, work for immediate, universal, and complete disarmament.

This principle, affirmation, and program had previously been adopted by the Women's Peace Society, an organization which has members in the United States, Canada, Mexico, and many European countries. But the Women's Peace Society considers that its chief work is educational; namely, to change the attitude of the individual toward the whole question of violence and bloodshed, until human life shall be held sacred under all circumstances. There is, therefore, a field for a new organization which shall bind together the women of America from Pole to Pole, to work on political and economic lines.

One of the most interesting features of the convention was the understanding shown, by almost all the women present, of the economic causes of war. There was no sentimental pacifism, but a full realization of the strangle hold which economic imperialism now has upon all the peoples and nations of the world and which will undoubtedly be a predominating factor at the coming arms conference called by President Harding.

The temporary officers of the new organization are: Christine Ross Barker, of Toronto, chairman; Gertrude Franchot Tone, of Niagara Falls, N. Y., treasurer; and Margaret Long Thomas, of New York City, secretary. A committee of women from Canada and the United States will sit in Washington during the coming conference to make plain that "disarmament" *means disarmament—not reduction or limitation of armament.*

Among the organizations represented at the conference were the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Canadian and United States sections), the Women's Committee for World Disarmament, the Daughters of Canada, the National League for Political Ethics, United Farm Women of Ontario, as well as the Women's Peace Society. All action taken, however, was by the women present acting as individuals and not as representatives of organizations.

New York, August 25 ELINOR BYRNES

No Promise on the Farms for the Unemployed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A word apropos of your paragraph in which you say that Mr. Hoover and some authorities pooh-pooh the Labor Department's estimates of present-day unemployment on the ground that there is no mention of the absorption of the unemployed in farm labor. Conditions as I have observed them in Arkansas and in Oklahoma lead me to believe that there is no room on the farm for the unemployed. The high freight rates have resulted in something like stagnation. Of the melon crop, what is not sold locally at a give-away price is fed to the hogs. In the section of the country in which I now am the apple crop has failed utterly and there are whole orchards from which ten apples could not be gathered. I have a hundred and twenty acres under orchard and garden cultivation, and could not find work for a single man. Nor, on the neighboring farms, do I know one where a hand would be needed. Moreover, to exacerbate the trouble, the recent dry spell has resulted in a potato failure and whole corn patches are bare. Still further, the prohibitive freight rates have brought about a condition in which the soil has not been rebuilt because of the increased cost of handling fertilizer.

In Oklahoma, two weeks ago, I saw hundreds of unemployed men going from farm to farm looking vainly for work. Some few found employment at a dollar a day and board. The balance were deterred from staying, and, by means of empty box cars and kindly brakemen, found their way to the cities. Still others are moving townward and it is reasonable to expect that the figures to which Mr. Hoover makes demur will be increased *before long, for there is no harvest of good things, in this* section at any rate, for any to garner.

Fayetteville, Arkansas, August 30 CHARLES J. FINGER

A Hegelian Utterance

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Only a few days ago I came to read your excellent series of editorials entitled No War with England. The introductory article credits Bernard Shaw with the aphorism "Nothing has been taught by the world's history." Now the brilliant dramatist can afford to rest on his own laurels and needs no wares "made in Germany" to add to his fame. For it is indeed the German philosopher Hegel who in the "Philosophie der Geschichte" says: "Die Weltgeschichte lehrt, dass sie nichts lehrt." I do not believe that the confiscation of German property included that of letters, and I think we might well leave that where it belongs without undue interference with our interpretation of the Fourteen Points.

London, August 24 JULIUS ROSENSTIRN

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Books

Our Social Heritage

Our Social Heritage. By Graham Wallas. Yale University Press.

BY "social heritage" Graham Wallas means "the knowledge and expedients and habits which were originally the personal acquisition of individuals, but which have been afterward handed down from one generation to another by the social process of teaching and learning." In this volume he confines himself "to the ideas, habits, and institutions directly concerned in the political, economic, and social organization of those modern communities which constitute that which I called in 1914 'The Great Society.'" Readers of his two earlier volumes will know what to expect in method. For Mr. Wallas is too wise to attempt the specious completeness of a too orderly survey. His mind is essentially selective and works by well-chosen illustrations drawn from an exceedingly wide field of reading and personal experience. Readers have sometimes complained that Mr. Wallas does not reach what they term definite conclusions upon the great controversial issues of political science. But Mr. Wallas is not primarily "out" for definite conclusions of this order. Amid all his political, economic, and social discussions he remains first and foremost an educationalist, concerned with impressing right methods of understanding. He is bent more upon getting people to think rightly upon social activities and institutions than upon getting their assent to his own or anybody else's conclusions upon immediate and urgent matters of reform. And he is always a rationalist, desirous to assist the control of the informed intellect over the instincts, passions, and prejudices which seek to rush us along foolish and wasteful lines of conduct. But his "Human Nature in Politics" showed how far removed he was from the hard-shell nineteenth century rationalism. For no one has studied more minutely the tricks which instinct and passion play with the intelligence. The great lesson of the war for him is the urgency of building world cooperation on "a conscious and steadily developing world policy." But "the degree of our success in that work will, in the first place, depend on the difficult and halting process which our fathers used to call 'the triumph of human reason.' We must so strengthen the impulse to think and the habit and art of rational calculation, and so realize the significance of our conclusions, that we may be able to resist and modify or divert some of the strongest of our instincts."

Toward this end he is always working. He sees the evolution of social institutions mainly in terms of this rational control. For the "natural man" all regular and routine work is repulsive, and elaborate social incentives have to be devised to overcome his disinclinations. Similarly with other forms of group cooperation. Man is not born a member of committees and it takes much reasonable thought to get a good committee-man out of him. One of Mr. Wallas's most brilliant and useful chapters deals with this problem of high-grade cooperation, by an examination of the working of two British commissions during the war, the Dardanelles Commission and the Mesopotamia Commission.

But the central theme to which his psychological treatment is directed is the part which special knowledge, experience, and interest ought to play in a sound national organization. There he comes into contact and conflict with certain attitudes and points of view taken either by the general mind or by specific bodies of reformers, both in Britain and America. He starts appropriately from a discussion of identity and diversity as educational aims. Should public education strive at producing a common normal pattern of mind, the equality and uniformity of a good American or Briton, or should it strive at discovering and training divergent and exceptional qualities which by specialization of functions may make a richer and more varied cooperation? Evidently these aims are not contradictory and the issue is one of relative importance. But Mr. Wallas stresses strongly the claim for diversity as making for a sounder democratic order than that which stresses conformity and a mechanical equality. This issue obviously cuts very deep into all the practical problems of national organization, and perhaps the gravest danger of our age is a nationalism in which all citizens shall be educated and otherwise forced into a single pattern of feeling, thought, and conduct, thus sterilizing all the natural seeds of progress. Where liberty appears to conflict with equality, Mr. Wallas stands for liberty. There is, of course, no final conflict between the two principles, every sound human organization being based upon their harmony. The equalitarians sometimes relied, however, on the view that liberty had already been achieved. But how do the following words of Mr. Asquith, spoken in 1902, strike informed readers in America today? "Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association and combination . . . we in these latter days have come to look upon as standing in the same category as the natural right to light and air."

Most penetrating are the intellect and wit of Mr. Wallas when they turn upon the relation of politics and the new fine arts of manipulation directed to the manufacture of the desired types of public opinion. Two of his campaigns of iconoclasm are directed against the mischievous symbolism of monarchy with its mystical appeals and the sacramentalism into which ecclesiastical institutions tend more and more to drift as the older dogmas are undermined in the popular belief. It is not that Mr. Wallas disparages emotion, but he rightly distrusts the rhetorical idealism which political "fakirs" employ in every country. Let a good citizen get as clear and large a grip as he can upon the types of life and interest which constitute the people of his country, and he will be less likely to fall a prey to abstract mystical conceptions of patriotism or imperialism. "A Middleborough iron-molder will be more likely to vote for a kind and wise policy in British India if he thinks of India, not as 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown' but as three hundred million human beings for whose fate he has his share of responsibility, who are troubled each week, more keenly than he is troubled, about food and clothing and housing, and who sometimes feel, though less often than he feels, the vague stirrings of political and social hope."

One topic of great interest receives full discussion, viz., the claims of guild socialists, syndicalists, and others to fasten the supremacy of professionalism or vocational organization upon society and to endow it with much, if not most, of the constitutional power vested in territorial democracy. Mr. Wallas combats this tendency by means of a searching inquiry into the dangers and defects of professionalism as illustrated in law, medicine, and teaching. The professions tend to mechanical routine, excessive conservatism, and a tyrannous attitude toward the public. Especially in teaching is it essential that parents and representatives of the general public schools retain a real voice in choice of teachers, subjects to be taught, the allocation of public funds to various grades of education, and general administrative arrangements. Mr. Wallas trusts to lay pressure and parliamentary advice for vital reforms in the professions. But he does not show how either of these methods can be made effective at present. He does not meet the attack on the local area of representation as lacking in those qualities of common will and purpose which are requisite to the efficacy of electoral methods. We come back here perhaps to Mr. Wallas's fundamental faith in diversity. A city electoral area certainly contains diversity and multiplicity of aims and interests, but very little effective personal intercourse or public spirit. Can a representative body thus elected do what he requires in the way of lay pressure and control of professional specialists?

But Mr. Wallas brings convincing realism to bear when he points out the danger lest strongly intrenched guilds should divert into the pockets of their members the differential rents and monopoly gains to which the whole community has an equal claim and which furnish the natural income of the state. "The

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railway servants, the Liverpool dockers, the doctors and professors will in the same way tend to claim for wages and salaries 'whatever the traffic will bear'; and it will need a powerful state to maintain or increase revenue against this tendency."

Mr. Wallas does not shed much light upon the crucial question how to get a state which shall at once conserve liberty and do justice between man and man, class and class, race and race in the sphere of world politics. For it comes back in the end to sane informed public opinion, and this rests mainly on the school and the press. And is either of these fundamental institutions "safe for democracy" in any country? Does either institution give us reliable protection against the interested propaganda of profiteers and patrioteers? Mr. Wallas does not, indeed, despair even of the press, which he rightly regards as "a thing which the human mind has contrived and the human mind can alter." Yes, if it has the mind to alter it, and can rescue that very mind from the sinister influences (including the press) which beset and enslave it.

Mr. Wallas, however, puts up a brilliant defense for rationalism and for free thought as its servant. He realizes with intense clarity of vision the perilous condition into which the world has been brought by statesmen foisted into power by an evil process of selection which makes them "more sensitive, more vain, and more suspicious than their fellows." One great political judgment I cannot forbear to quote: "In the election of December, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George made it impossible for him to use at Paris the power of Britain for the promotion of reconciliation and good-will in Europe. Because of what he then said and did children a century hence in every European country who might have lived in health will be crippled or killed by disease; youths and girls who might have entered into the kingdom of knowledge will toil in ignorance; nations who might have been friends will hate and fear each other."

Mr. Wallas looks to no sudden religious or emotional conversion for salvation, but to education quickened by the better understanding of human nature which history and psychology are bringing to bear. Perhaps he unduly disparages certain subconscious powers of collective self-protection and upbuilding which seem to some of us to move through the processes of social evolution, and relies overmuch upon the necessity of psychological self-consciousness. Must we always be precisely aware of the direction we are going in order to go right? Must even children be urged to attend persistently to what is going on inside their little minds? Mr. Wallas thinks that a class of boys taught to repeat the maxim, "My duty as a member of this class is to acquire correct intellectual habits" would not grow up into a class of prigs. I wonder!

J. A. Hobson

The Future of the Race

Social Decay and Regeneration. By Austin Freeman. Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Trend of the Race. By Samuel J. Holmes. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

The Control of Life. By J. Arthur Thomson. Henry Holt and Company.

As a man is wise his thoughts turn to the future. The child, the savage, the wastrel live for the moment. But the boy who thinks of the examination at the end of the term, the young couple who save to build a home and to found a family, the statesman and economist who plan the wealth of future generations, the philosopher or theologian or scientist whose gaze is bent on eternity represent ascending degrees of all that is mature and noble in the character of man. Only tomorrow can give meaning unto today; and the vision of tomorrow always determines the actions of today. If it were known that the universe would come to an end in a few years, what would be left of life but a death-dance of violent and brutal pleasures before the final plunge into oblivion? If the eyes of men are fixed on the other world they will care little for the improvement of this, but will strive, as they did in the Middle Ages, by prayer and fasting, by asceticism and renunciation to fit their souls for heaven. But if, as is actually the case at present, men ardently expect a better social order and a nobler race in this world, will they not take thought and will they not labor to bring their vision to pass? Will not their hearts pant after the promised time when the earth will be one great nation of godlike men living full, autonomous, arduous lives in pursuit of ever greater knowledge of nature, and of ever deepening wisdom, and of ever subtler art? Surely this will not be the "afternoon-tea Utopia" or the "Chautauqua heaven" dreaded and ridiculed by the praisers of the present. Though there will be no crime and no war to add "spice" to existence (as if offal and poison could spice the banquet of the gods), the struggle will be then as fearfully urgent, as absorbing, and as inspiring as ever, the struggle between mind and matter, between science and the changing conditions of the solar system, between philosophy and all forms of unreason.

Among those at present studying the distant future none can speak with more authority than the students of heredity. For the prime lesson learned in the last sixty years of biological study is that breeding counts supremely in the quality of every living creature. The race horse, the prize cow, the criminal, the degenerate, the genius are all, at least to a very large extent, like the poet, born and not made. Men inherit the qualities of their minds and characters, no less than the color of their skins or the tendency to disease, from their ancestors. In any of the three books under review one may read how Mendel and his followers have bred in and bred out exactly what qualities they pleased in peas and guinea-pigs and rabbits and fruit-flies. In these books one becomes thoroughly acquainted with families like the Jukes, distinguished for having produced several hundred criminals, idiots, and prostitutes; and on the other hand the Adamses, the Cecils, and the Darwins, prolific in genius throughout many generations, are introduced to the reader. Long discussions by all three authors as to the inheritance of acquired characteristics lead to the probable, but not certain, conclusion that these are never transmitted. Once the individual has started on its career as a single cell all the cards are dealt for the game of his life; it is true that his success or failure depends partly on how the cards are played.

The most original part of Mr. Freeman's book is the endeavor to prove that societies, like germs, have a life cycle. Just as a culture of yeast, or of typhoid bacilli, when introduced into a favorable environment, at first flourishes and multiplies, but finally produces toxins or antibodies fatal to itself, so Mr. Freeman thinks that all forms of life tend to give rise to a set of unfavorable conditions ultimately causing decay and death. Civilized societies are such organisms, in his opinion, and the antibodies set up by them are the machines and inventions of the last century and a half. The thesis that the race is degenerating due to the strains and stresses of a mechanical age is developed to much the same purpose as it was by Max Nordau some years ago, though with none of the wit or critical acumen of that author. If we may believe Mr. Freeman society is now going to the dogs, only (as Oliver Wendell Holmes said about physic) if it is in such a parlous state as the author thinks, no dog would touch it. Two considerations somewhat impair our confidence in Mr. Freeman's verdict. One is that he is evidently a rather crotchety gentleman, more interested in decrying what he does not like among his contemporaries than in establishing reliable scientific conclusions. He has gathered around him a large menagerie of pet aversions, and his favorite indoor sport is to give each of them in turn a flick of his whip while apparently talking of something else. Germany, politicians, cheap amusements, the taxes, socialism, the "battalions of parasites" now infesting society, and above all the laboring class come in for many a hard, but illogical, blow. In the second place Mr. Freeman is not always right in his economics and history. The ideas he has of over-production

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and the unemployment caused by technical improvements in machinery have been exploded long ago. His laments about the poor quality of the population as shown by the recruiting for the English army during the war might be paralleled in many a past age. Altogether they remind one of Falstaff's description of his company, containing Mouldy, Shadow, Wart, Feeble, and Bullcalf, as "pitiful rascals," "scarecrows," and "food for powder," more than of anything else. So his laments about the intellectual poverty of this age recall similar comments by Ben Jonson on his own time. And yet the age of Elizabeth is held up by Mr. Freeman as an age of giants compared with the present.

A more readable as well as a much more reliable account of the present situation is offered by Professor Holmes. After perusing his book, filled as it is with figures and tables, one is inclined to paraphrase a popular epigram and to say that there are romances, great romances, and statistics. The point of the comparison here is not the alleged deceptiveness of statistics, but their fascination. If figures do not rule the world they show how it is ruled. No one can study Professor Holmes's able discussions of the inheritance of mental defects and disease, of mental ability, and of the basis of crime and delinquency without feeling the urgent importance and interest of the subject. His observations on the decline of the birth-rate and on the selective operation of nature, of war, of alcohol, of disease, and of religion are equally judicious and stimulating. Unlike Mr. Freeman he has no panacea for existing evils. He thinks that the prospect is not so dark as it is often represented, and he believes that the amelioration of the race by means of eugenics, while the most pressing problem of the time, or perhaps of all time, can only be accomplished by a moral education of the better elements of humanity to their responsibilities to the future and by a gradual segregation of the obviously unfit and prevention of their transmitting their own defects to posterity.

Quite different is the point of view of Professor Thomson. He aims his interesting and wholesome advice rather at the individual than at society as a whole. His thesis is that science is for life; that is, it is like the kingdom of heaven, to be sought first and foremost for its own sake, though to him who seeks all other good things shall be added. The bearing of his study of biology lies in its application to every man's private life, and one rarely comes across better counsel as to matters of health, education, marriage, and all the crises of man's physical existence. He, too, has something to say on problems of population and on the task of social reform. The three most important goals of mankind are at present, he thinks, "Eugenics, the improvement of the human breed; Eutechnics, the improvement of occupations and activities; and Eutopias, the improvement of surroundings." The whole work is an excellent sermon on a text quoted from John Dewey: "The future of our civilization depends upon the widening spread and deepening hold of the scientific habit of mind."

PRESERVED SMITH

Books in Brief

THE setting of the two tales which comprise Mme Tinayre's latest book, "Les Lampes voilées" (Calmann-Lévy), is Saintonge, the country of Fromentin's "Dominique." The setting is no accident; there is the same somber poetry hovering over both works, due in part to the landscape itself. The judgment passed on Dominique by his friend Olivier might stand as the epigraph of Mme Tinayre's volume: "Your lot is to regret always and to desire never." Mme Tinayre regards her "veiled lamps," a woman and a man, as bound for the circle of the Inferno where suffer the violent against themselves. She has given her own interpretation to this crime, and portrays characters who "have not wished to live." To live, in her novels, is to love. Laurence de Préchateau is too poor to marry in her own rank and wraps herself in stoic pride. Her time is divided between an aged mother and the inmates of a hospital for children condemned to vicarious suffering. There is no sympathy between her and her mother and she has no love for children. She reflects bitterly on the words of the Apostle about sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. We meet her at a moment of crisis when a snowstorm hinders her from keeping a rendezvous with a man who, two years before, had revealed Dante to her and who is filled with a renaissance joy of life. She had hoped to find in him a guide out of the dark forest in which she was wandering. She barely escapes death in the snow; he rejoins his company and dies in Macedonia without seeing her. The title of the second story is Valentine, but the "veiled lamp" is a village "character." His neighbors know nothing of his history; he relates it to a young woman who as a child had aroused his sympathy by her sensitiveness to beauty. He has remained a bachelor because he too had missed a rendezvous—by being born too late. As a young man he met Valentine, whose hair was already white. His dearest possession is a portrait of her in her youth. After her death he renounced a brilliant career as a lawyer, retired to the province, and bought her château. He has allowed no changes and spent a life of revery in minor key. Both stories are told without the slightest pretention and yet Mme Tinayre is making for herself a place among French novelists as "herald of the unfulfilled desire."

SOMETHING of the record of the colored troops in France has been set forth by Addie W. Hunton and Kathryn M. Johnson in a little volume entitled "Two Colored Women With the American Expeditionary Forces" (Brooklyn Eagle Press). They have not only printed the records of various colored regiments and numerous official orders, but have also related the experiences of the colored canteen workers—who had, like the troops, to bear with the prejudices of their fellow-Americans as well as to face German bullets. This is not, of course, a definitive work; indeed, it lacks order and cohesiveness. Yet it was worth compiling. Numerous "authoritative" histories of the part the colored troops played in France have already appeared and are enjoying large sales. But we are much too near the conflict for the full judicial history which must some day be written. When that appears the volume before us will serve usefully as one of the sources. Mrs. Hunton and Miss Johnson have set down worthy testimony as to the falsity of the charges of misconduct made against our colored soldiers and we believe that their judgment of them will be that of posterity.

MORRIS HILLQUIT has repeatedly been denounced by the Third International; as a Socialist he has been a critic of its policy on important points. Nevertheless he has been able to make a lucid and informing contribution to the literature of socialist controversy in an objective spirit, quite free from personal rancor and the more than theological bitterness which usually characterize such discussions. His "From Marx to Lenin" (The Hanford Press) is an interesting and sympathetic account of socialist development which ought to be of value to a wide public outside the Socialist and Communist parties. He concludes that "a wholehearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the first socialist republic but also by their direct class interests," but that "to the Socialist movement of the world the Communist International has brought not peace but the sword."

Drama

Homespun and Brocade

IN a Harlem flat with large-figured wall-paper, golden oak furniture, and the Angelus on the wall there lived a couple who had one little girl. The man and woman lived in a state of thick and entangling devotion. They had married young and

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the man took this state to be the natural order of the world. But he had artistic ambitions and a pretty talent for drawing and, finding a patroness, went off to Paris for a year's study. He comes back not a changed man but an awakened man. He sees that the boy and girl friendship which led to marriage had never been an expression of his self. That self he has found. He is a wanderer, seeker, solitary. His wife has a perception that what she feels to be the tragic change in her husband is not, at least, that easily defined and judged and commonly unreal one from righteousness to sin. She determines, despite other women, neglect, disorder, coldness, to watch and hope. Such are the premises and early events of Zoe Akins's "Daddy's Gone A-Hunting" (Plymouth Theater).

This new and, to the woman, bitter life goes on—now in a Washington Square studio—for a year. Then, at the instigation of a friend whom she made during her husband's absence and who loves her, she determines to test the reality of those new and to her quite unreal principles which her husband seems to have embraced. She shows him her arms covered with precious bracelets. He nods sadly and remarks that, of course, he cannot deny her the liberties he claims. That proof of his integrity within his world is to her the ultimate proof of the death of his love. Now only is she stricken beyond endurance and flees to the devoted friend who wants her. The American drama has yet to show a truer and profounder moment than that. The psychical spheres of sex are here defined and delimited with extraordinary insight and precision. The protagonists are both in the right, both admirable, and, acting from the innermost necessities of their nature, confront each other across a bridgeless chasm.

But, having achieved that moment, Miss Akins had no more to say. Nor, indeed, was there need of saying more. The drama was complete. The theater, however, demanded a third act. And it is very much to Miss Akins's credit that she does not permit the psychical rhythm of her action to be deflected or changed. But the happenings through which she reiterates the elements of her fable are villainous. At the end of five years the daughter of the man and the woman falls ill. They meet at her bedside, like the couple in Brieux's "Le Berceau," and the woman feels more keenly than ever the tug toward the lover of her youth. When suddenly, without rhyme or reason, as a mere matter of theatrical casualty, the girl dies, the mother offers to return to her husband. Here, again, Miss Akins shows a peculiar grace. A shoddy, happy ending was within her grasp. She lets the man transcend the grief and softening of the moment and still keep his vision fixed upon his true direction and aim. He falters but he says: "It suits me to be alone."

What Miss Akins should do is obvious. The action of her third act should set in one hour, not five years, after the end of the second. The woman flees to her friend's house. The friend, a scrupulous gentleman, should summon the husband. And those three should, in a brief, revealing scene, in which the spiritual character of each burns to a flame-like culmination, achieve that clarification and rearrangement of human relationships which the being of each demands.

Years ago Miss Akins wrote a slight but witty and glittering comedy, "Papa." She then turned to the commercial theater and wrote that hopelessly shoddy and meanly pretentious piece "Déclassée." She returns to the stage now with a power and a rectitude of workmanship which during two acts make her new play, in the beautiful projection of it by Marjorie Rambeau and Frank Conroy, one of the three or four bits of dramatic writing that ally our theater to the authentic theater of the modern world. She can both think and create. She must make her final breach with the bad tradition of action as birth, death, weapons, haste, clatter. Speech that reveals creative culmination or tragic division *is* action. Had her third act consisted of such speech, her play would not have been a promising fragment but a work of dramatic art.

"Daddy's Gone A-Hunting" is Mr. Arthur Hopkins's first production this season. "Swords" by Sidney Howard (National Theater) is the first production of Mr. Brock Pemberton. Mr. Pemberton's brief career as a producing manager has shown him to be one of the solid hopes of our theater. Hence it is important to say that nothing could be more admirable than the motives which led him to produce "Swords." Here, he doubtless said to himself, is a poetic, historical tragedy by a young American. It is a great piece of work. It has no chance on the commercial stage. Who will have the courage and idealism to produce it? Furthermore—and this was a perfectly legitimate consideration—if Benelli's "The Jest" made money, why not Howard's "Swords"? There is a certain pathos in the incident. It is significant of the state of our national culture. A manager who does not want to produce plays like "Getting Gertie's Garter" is in the mental state of a professor in a one-building university. He thinks of Shakespeare. He does not think, using these great names symbolically, of Ibsen at all. And he accepts a "cloak and dagger" melodrama in verse as drama in the grand style because it reminds him of Shakespeare. And straightway he stages his play in the traditional Shakespearean manner and lets his players speak and gesture in that overwrought, hectic, violent fashion which we have no reason to believe ever characterized an intelligent biped on this planet. Velvet and verse, an Italian nomenclature, an island, a castle, Guelphs, Ghibellines, a subtle villain, a papal nuncio, a torture chamber, a saintly lady, a miracle! No, such is not the substance of great drama. What's Hecuba to us? For there is no symbolism, no interpretation of history. Melodrama remains melodrama whether the bloody accidents happen a day's ride from Rome or a subway ride from City Hall. There are, initially, greater possibilities of spiritual and so of dramatic significance in cotton cloth, prose, a simple room, humble occupations, the passions and aspirations of reality.

Mr. Howard himself is, of course, a prey to the same delusion. His ideal of a drama is that of a gifted senior in college. He has talent and writes beautiful verses. But the beauty of the verses is nowhere his own. It is the intentional hauntingness or conscious splendor of Stephen Phillips or an imitation of the bitter, congealed pathos in the fragments by Webster that everybody quotes. In texture and incident "Swords" is literary in the futile sense. This lady and this villain come straight from the minor Elizabethan drama. Mr. Howard wrote the "Labor Spy" series in the *New Republic*. Let him give us a coal miner's cottage in the Virginia mountains. Why scratch up Bosola from his eerie grave? Is there, then, he may well ask, to be no poetic drama for us? Yes, but it must be ours even as the Elizabethans' was theirs. If its garments be antique yet its meaning must be of today and even of tomorrow. It will not arise by imitating the mortal part of the drama of another age. A reinterpretation of legend may be its method. Or it may be something unforeseen that haunts the brain of an unknown youth of genius somewhere in Maine or Alabama. It will not be blood and brocade, dagger and poison, miracles and masks.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

Irish-British Peace

THE documents concerned in the negotiations between Great Britain and Ireland from the British peace offer of July 20 are printed in the following pages. The texts are taken from the *Morning Post* (London) and the New York *Times*.

THE BRITISH OFFER

July 20, 1921

The British Government are actuated by an earnest desire to end the unhappy divisions between Great Britain and Ireland, which have produced so many conflicts in the past and which have once more shattered the peace and well-being of Ireland at the present time.

They long, with His Majesty the King, as expressed in the words of his gracious speech in Ireland last month, for a satisfactory solution of those age-long Irish problems which for generations have embarrassed our forefathers as they now weigh heavily upon us, and they wish to do their utmost to insure that every man of Irish birth, whatever be his creed and wherever be his home, shall work in loyal cooperation with the free communities on which the British Empire is based.

They are convinced that the Irish people may find as worthy and as complete an expression of their political and spiritual ideals within the Empire as any of the numerous varied nations united in allegiance to His Majesty's throne, and they desire such consummation not only for the welfare of Great Britain and Ireland and the Empire as a whole, but also for the cause of peace and harmony throughout the world.

There is no part of the world where Irishmen have made their home but what suffers from our ancient feuds, no part of it but looks to this meeting between the British Government and the Irish leaders to resolve these feuds in a new understanding, honorable and satisfactory to all the people involved.

The free nations which compose the British Empire are drawn from many races with different histories, traditions, and ideals. In the dominion of Canada, British and French have long forgotten the bitter conflicts which divided their ancestors. In South Africa, the Transvaal Republic and Orange Free State have joined with two British colonies to make a great self-governing union under His Majesty's sway. The British people cannot believe that where Canada and South Africa, with equal or even greater difficulties, have so signally succeeded Ireland will fail, and they are determined, in so far as they themselves can assure it, that nothing shall hinder Irish statesmen from joining together to build up an Irish state in free and willing cooperation with the other peoples of the Empire.

Moved by these considerations, the British Government invite Ireland to take her place in the great association of free nations over which His Majesty reigns. As earnest of their desire to obliterate old quarrels and enable Ireland to face the future with renewed strength and hope, they propose that Ireland shall assume forthwith the status of a dominion, with all powers and privileges set forth in this document.

By adoption of the dominion status it is understood that Ireland shall enjoy complete autonomy in taxation and finance; that she will maintain her own courts of law and judges; that she will maintain her own military forces for home defense, her own constabulary and her own police; that she will take over the Irish postal services and all matters relating to education, land, agriculture, mines and minerals, forestry, housing, labor, unemployment, transport, trade, the public health, insurance and liquor traffic, and in sum, that she will exercise all those powers and privileges upon which the autonomy of self-governing dominions is based, subject only to the considerations set out in ensuing paragraphs.

Ireland is guaranteed in these liberties, which no foreign people can challenge without challenging the Empire as a whole, since the dominions hold each and severally by virtue of their British fellowship, standing among nations equivalent not merely to their individual strength but to the combined power and influence of all of the nations of the commonwealth. That guaranty, that fellowship, that freedom the whole Empire looks to Ireland to accept.

To this settlement the British Government is prepared to give immediate effect upon the following conditions, which are, in their opinion, vital to the welfare and safety of both Great Britain and Ireland, forming, as they do, the heart of the commonwealth:

1. The common concern of Great Britain and Ireland in defense of their interests on land and sea shall be mutually recognized. Great Britain lives by sea-borne food and her communications depend upon freedom of the great sea routes. Ireland lies at Britain's side across the sea-ways north and south that link her with the sister nations of the Empire, the markets of the world, and the vital sources of her food supply. In recognition of this fact, which nature has imposed and no statesmanship can change, it is essential that the Royal Navy alone should control the seas around Ireland and Great Britain, and that such rights and liberties should be accorded to it by the Irish state as are essential for naval purposes in the Irish harbors and on the Irish coasts.

2. In order that the movement toward the limitation of armaments which is now making progress in the world should in no way be hampered, it is stipulated that the Irish territorial force shall within reasonable limits conform in respect of numbers to the military establishments of the other parts of these islands.

3. The position of Ireland is also of great importance for the air services, both military and civil. The Royal Air Force will need facilities for all purposes that it serves; and Ireland will form an essential link in the development of air routes between the British Isles and the North American Continent. It is therefore stipulated that Great Britain shall have all necessary facilities for the development of defense and of communications by air.

4. Great Britain hopes that Ireland will in due course and of her own free will contribute in proportion to her wealth to the regular naval, military, and air forces of the Empire. It is further assumed that voluntary recruitment for these forces will be permitted throughout Ireland, particularly for those famous Irish Regiments which have so long and so gallantly served his Majesty in all parts of the world.

5. While the Irish people shall enjoy complete autonomy in taxation and finance, it is essential to prevent a recurrence of ancient differences between the two islands, and in particular to avert the possibility of ruinous trade wars. With this object in view the British and Irish Governments shall agree to impose no protective duties or other restrictions upon the flow of transport, trade, and commerce between all parts of these islands.

6. The Irish people shall agree to assume responsibility for a share of the present debt of the United Kingdom and of the liability for pensions arising out of the Great War, the share, in default of agreement between the Governments concerned, to be determined by an independent arbitrator appointed from within His Majesty's dominions.

In accordance with these principles, the British Government propose that the conditions of settlement between Great Britain and Ireland shall be embodied in the form of a treaty, to which effect shall in due course be given by the British and Irish Parliaments. They look to such an instrument to obliterate old conflicts forthwith, to clear the way for a detailed settlement in full accordance with Irish conditions and needs, and thus to establish a new and happier relation between Irish patriotism and that wider community of aims and interests by

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which the unity of the whole Empire is freely sustained.

The form in which the settlement is to take effect will depend upon Ireland herself. It must allow for full recognition of the existing powers and privileges of the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland, which cannot be abrogated except by their own consent.

For their part the British Government entertain an earnest hope that the necessity of harmonious cooperation among Irishmen of all classes and creeds will be recognized throughout Ireland, and they will welcome the day when by these means unity is achieved. But no such common action can be secured by force. Union came in Canada by the free consent of the provinces. So in Australia; so in South Africa. It will come in Ireland by no other way than consent.

There can, in fact, be no settlement on terms involving, on the one side or the other, that bitter appeal to bloodshed and violence which all men of good-will are longing to terminate. The British Government will undertake to give effect, so far as that depends on them, to any terms in this respect on which all Ireland unites. But in no conditions can they consent to any proposals which would kindle civil war in Ireland.

Such a war would not touch Ireland alone, for partisans would flock to either side from Great Britain, the Empire, and elsewhere, with consequences more devastating to the welfare both of Ireland and the Empire than the conflict to which a truce has been called this month. Throughout the Empire there is a deep desire that the day of violence should pass and that a solution should be found, consonant with the highest ideals and interests of all parts of Ireland, which will enable her to cooperate as a willing partner in the British commonwealth.

The British Government will therefore leave Irishmen themselves to determine by negotiations between them whether the new powers which the pact defines shall be taken over by Ireland as a whole and administered by a single Irish body, or taken over separately by Southern and Northern Ireland, with or without a joint authority to harmonize their common interests. They will willingly assist in the negotiation of such a settlement if Irishmen should so desire.

By these proposals the British Government sincerely believe that they will have shattered the foundations of that ancient hatred and distrust which have disfigured our common history for centuries past. The future of Ireland within the commonwealth is for the Irish people to shape.

In the foregoing proposals the British Government have attempted no more than the broad outline of a settlement. The details they leave for discussion when the Irish people have signified their acceptance of the principle of this pact.

D. Lloyd George

De Valera's Letter to Lloyd George

August 10, 1921

On the occasion of our last interview I gave it as my judgment that the Dail Eireann could not and that the Irish people would not accept the proposals of your Government as set forth in the draft of July 20 which you had presented to me. Having consulted my colleagues, and with them given these proposals most earnest consideration, I now confirm that judgment. The outline given in the draft is self-contradictory, and the principle of the pact is not easy to determine. To the extent that it implies recognition of Ireland's separate nationhood and her right of self-determination we appreciate and accept it.

But in the stipulations and express conditions concerning matters that are vital, principles strangely are set aside and the claim advanced by your Government to interference in our affairs and to control which we cannot admit.

Ireland's right to choose for herself the path she should take to realize her own destiny must be accepted as indefeasible. It is a right that has been maintained through centuries of oppression and at a cost of unparalleled sacrifice and untold suffering, and it will not be surrendered. We cannot propose to abrogate or to impair it, nor can Great Britain or any other foreign state or group of states legitimately claim to interfere with its exercise in order to serve their own special interests.

The Irish people's belief is that national destiny can best be realized in political detachment free from imperialistic entanglements which, they feel, will involve enterprises out of harmony with the national character, prove destructive to their ideals, and be fruitful of only ruinous wars, crushing burdens, social discontent, and general unrest and unhappiness.

Like the small states of Europe, they are prepared to hazard their independence on the basis of moral right, confident that they threaten no nation or people so they would, in turn, be free from aggression themselves. This policy they have declared for in plebiscite after plebiscite, and the degree to which any other line of policy deviates from it must be taken as the measure of the extent to which external pressure is operative and violence is being done to the wishes of the majority.

As for myself and my colleagues, it is our deep conviction that true friendship with England, which military coercion has frustrated for centuries, can be obtained most readily now through amicable but absolute separation. Fear, groundless though we believe it to be, that Irish territory may be used as a basis for attack upon England's liberties, can be met by reasonable guaranties not inconsistent with Irish sovereignty.

Dominion status for Ireland is by everyone who understands the conditions known to be illusory. The freedom which the British dominions enjoy is not so much the result of legal enactments or treaties as of the immense distances which separate them from Great Britain and make interference by her impracticable. Most explicit guaranties, including the dominion's acknowledged right to secede, would be necessary to secure for Ireland an equal degree of freedom.

There is no suggestion, however, in the proposals made of any such guaranties. Instead, the natural positions are reversed and our geographical situation with respect to Great Britain is made the basis of denials and restrictions unheard of in the case of the dominions. The smaller island must give military safeguards and guaranties to the larger and suffer itself to be reduced to a position of helpless dependence.

It should be obvious that we could not urge acceptance of such proposals upon our people. A certain treaty-free association with the British commonwealth group, as with a partial League of Nations, we would have been ready to recommend and as a Government to negotiate and take responsibility for, had we assurance that entry of the nation as a whole into such association would secure for it the allegiance of the present dissenting minority, to meet whose sentiment alone this step would be contemplated.

Treaties dealing with proposals for free intertrade and mutual limitation of armaments we are ready at any time to negotiate. Mutual agreement for facilitating air, railway, and other communications can, we feel certain, also be effected. No obstacle of any kind will be placed by us in the way of that smooth commercial intercourse which is essential to the life of both islands, each of which is the best customer and best market of the other.

It must, of course, be understood that all treaties and agreements would have to be submitted for ratification to a national legislature in the first instance, and subsequently to the Irish people as a whole, under circumstances which would make it evident that their decision would be a free decision and that every element of military compulsion was absent.

The question of Ireland's liability for a share of the present debt of the United Kingdom we are prepared to leave to be determined by a board of arbitrators, one to be appointed by Ireland, one by Great Britain, and the third to be chosen by agreement, or, in default of such agreement, to be nominated, say, by the President of the United States.

In regard to the question at issue between the political minority and the great majority of the Irish people, that must remain a question for the Irish themselves to settle. We cannot admit the right of the British Government to mutilate our country either in its own interest or at the call of any section of our

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population. We do not contemplate the use of force. If your Government stands aside, we can effect a complete reconciliation.

We agree with you that no common action can be secured by force. Our regret is that this wise and true principle, which your Government prescribes to us for settlement of our local problem, it seems unwilling to apply consistently to the fundamental problem of relations between our island and yours. The principle we rely on in one case we are ready to apply in the other, but should this principle not yield an immediate settlement, we are willing that this question, too, be submitted to external arbitration.

Thus we are ready to meet you in all that is reasonable and just. Responsibility for initiating and effecting an honorable peace rests primarily not with our Government but with yours. We have no conditions to impose and no claims to advance but one—that we be freed from aggression.

We reciprocate with a sincerity to be measured only by the terrible sufferings our people have undergone the desire you express for mutual, lasting friendship. The sole cause of the ancient feuds, which you deplore, has been, as we know and as history proves, the attacks of English rulers upon Irish liberties. These attacks can cease forthwith if your Government has the will. The road to peace and understanding lies open.

EAMON DE VALERA

LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY

August 13, 1921

The earlier part of your letter is so much opposed to our fundamental position that we feel bound to leave you in no doubt of our meaning. You state that after consulting your colleagues you confirm your declaration that our proposals are such as the Dail Eireann could not and the Irish people would not accept. You add that the outline given by our draft is self-contradictory and that the principle of the pact offered you is not easy to determine. We desire, therefore, to make our position absolutely clear.

In our opinion, nothing is to be gained by prolonging the theoretical discussion of the national status which you may be willing to accept, as compared with that of the great self-governing dominions of the British commonwealth, but we must direct your attention to one point on which you lay some emphasis and on which no British Government can compromise, namely, the claim that we should acknowledge the right of Ireland to secede from her allegiance to the King.

No such right can ever be acknowledged by us. The geographical propinquity of Ireland to the British Isles is a fundamental fact. The history of the two islands for many centuries, however it is read, is sufficient proof that their destinies are indissolubly linked.

Ireland has sent members to the British Parliament for more than a hundred years. Many of her people during all that time have enlisted freely and served gallantly in the forces of the Crown. Great numbers in all the Irish provinces are profoundly attached to the Throne.

These facts permit of one answer, and one only, to the claim that Great Britain should negotiate with Ireland as a separate and foreign Power.

When you, as the chosen representatives of Irish national ideals, came to speak with me I made one condition only, of which our proposal plainly stated the effect—that Ireland should recognize the force of geographical and historical facts.

It is those facts which govern the problems of British-Irish relations. If they did not exist there would be no problems to discuss. I pass, therefore, to the conditions which are imposed by these facts.

We set them out clearly in six clauses in our former proposals and need not restate them here, except to say that the British Government cannot consent to the reference of any such questions which concern Great Britain and Ireland alone to the arbitration of a foreign Power.

We are profoundly glad to have your agreement that Northern Ireland cannot be coerced. This point is of great importance, because the resolve of our people to resist with full power any attempt at secession by one part of Ireland carries with it of necessity an equal resolve to resist any effort to coerce another part of Ireland to abandon its allegiance to the Crown.

We gladly give you the assurance that we will concur in any settlement which Southern and Northern Ireland may make for Irish unity within the six conditions already laid down, which apply to Southern and Northern Ireland alike, but we cannot agree to refer the question of your relations with Northern Ireland to foreign arbitration.

The conditions of the proposed settlement do not arise from any desire to force our will upon the people of another race, but from facts which are as vital to Ireland's welfare as to our own. They contain no derogation from Ireland's status as a dominion, no desire for British ascendancy over Ireland, and no impairment of Ireland's national ideals.

Our proposals present to the Irish people an opportunity such as has never dawned in their history before. We have made them in a sincere desire to achieve peace, but beyond them we cannot go.

We trust you will be able to accept them in principle. I shall discuss their application in detail whenever your acceptance in principle is communicated to me.

D. LLOYD GEORGE

SIR JAMES CRAIG INTERVENES

August 14, 1921

MY DEAR PRIME MINISTER: Your proposals for an Irish settlement have now been exhaustively examined by my Cabinet and myself. We realize that the preamble is specially addressed to Mr. de Valera and his followers, and observe that it implies that difficulties have long existed throughout the Empire and America attributable to persons of Irish extraction.

In fairness to the Ulster people I must point out that they have always aimed at the retention of their citizenship in the United Kingdom and Empire, of which they are proud to form a part, and that there are not to be found in any quarter of the world more loyal citizens than those of Ulster descent. They hold fast to cherished traditions and deeply resent any infringement of their rights and privileges which belong equally to them and to the other citizens within the Empire.

In order that you may correctly understand the attitude we propose to adopt it is necessary that I should call to your mind the sacrifices we have so recently made in agreeing to self-government and consenting to the establishment of a Parliament for Northern Ireland. Much against our wish, but in the interests of peace, we accepted this as a final settlement of the long outstanding difficulty with which Great Britain had been confronted. We are now busily engaged in ratifying our part of this solemn bargain, while Irishmen outside the Northern area, who in the past struggled for Home Rule, have chosen to repudiate the Government of Ireland Act and to press Great Britain for wider power. To join in such pressure is repugnant to the people of Northern Ireland.

In the further interests of peace we therefore respectfully decline to determine or interfere with the terms of settlement between Great Britain and Southern Ireland. It cannot then be said that "Ulster blocks the way." Similarly, if there exists an equal desire for peace on the part of Sinn Fein they will respect the *status quo* in Ulster and will refrain from any interference with our Parliament and rights, which under no circumstances can we admit.

In adopting this course we rely on the British people, who charged us with the responsibility of undertaking our parliamentary institutions, to safeguard the ties that bind us to Great Britain and the Empire, to insure that we are not prejudiced by any terms entered into between them and Mr. de Valera, and to maintain the just equality exhibited throughout the Government of Ireland Act.

Our acceptance of your original invitation to meet in conference still holds good, and if at any time our assistance is again desired we are available. But I feel bound to acquaint you that

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no meeting is possible between Mr. de Valera and myself until he recognizes that Northern Ireland will not submit to any authority other than His Majesty the King and the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and admits the sanctity of the existing powers and privileges of the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland.

In conclusion, let me assure you that peace is as earnestly desired by my Government and myself as by you and yours, and that although we have nothing left to us to give away we are prepared, when you and Mr. de Valera arrive at a satisfactory settlement, to cooperate with Southern Ireland on equal terms for the future welfare of our common country. In order to avoid any misunderstanding or misrepresentation of our views I intend to publish this letter when your proposals are made public.

JAMES CRAIG

DE VALERA'S REJECTION

August 24, 1921

The anticipatory judgment I gave in my reply of August 10 has been confirmed. I laid the proposals of your Government before the Dail Eireann, and by a unanimous vote it has rejected them.

From your letter of August 13 it was clear that the principle we are asked to accept was that the "geographical propinquity" of Ireland to Great Britain imposed the condition of the subordination of Ireland's right to Great Britain's strategic interests, as she conceived them, and that the very length and persistence of the efforts made in the past to compel Ireland's acquiescence in a foreign domination imposed the condition of acceptance of that domination now.

We cannot believe that your Government intended to commit itself to the principle of sheer militarism, destructive of international morality and fatal to the world's peace. If a small nation's right to independence is forfeit when a more powerful neighbor covets its territory for military or other advantages it is supposed to confer, there is an end to liberty. No longer can any small nation claim the right to a separate existence. Holland and Denmark can be made subservient to Germany, Belgium to Germany or to France, Portugal to Spain.

If nations that have been forcibly annexed to an empire lose thereby their title to independence, there can be for them no rebirth to freedom.

In Ireland's case, to speak of her seceding from a partnership she has not accepted or from an allegiance which she has not undertaken to render is fundamentally false, just as the claim to subordinate her independence to British strategy is fundamentally unjust. To neither can we, as representatives of the nation, lend countenance.

If our refusal to betray our nation's honor and the trust that has been reposed in us is to be made an issue of war by Great Britain, we deplore it. We are as conscious of our responsibilities to the living as we are mindful of principle or of our obligations to the heroic dead.

We have not sought war nor do we seek war, but if war be made upon us we must defend ourselves, and shall do so, confident that, whether our defense be successful or unsuccessful, no body of representative Irishmen or Irishwomen will ever propose to the nation the surrender of its birthright.

We long to end the conflict between Great Britain and Ireland. If your Government be determined to impose its will upon us by force, and antecedent to negotiations to insist upon conditions that involve a surrender of our whole national position and make negotiation a mockery, the responsibility for the continuance of the conflict rests upon you.

On the basis of the broad guiding principle of government by the consent of the governed peace can be secured—a peace that will be just and honorable to all and fruitful of concord and inducing to amity.

To negotiate such a peace the Dail Eireann is ready to appoint its representatives, and, if your Government accepts the principle proposed, to invest them with plenary powers to meet and arrange with you for its application in detail.

EAMON DE VALERA

THE BRITISH REPLY

August 26, 1921

SIR: The British Government are profoundly disappointed by your letter of August 24. You write of the conditions of the meeting between us as though no meeting had ever taken place.

I must remind you, therefore, that when I asked you to meet me six weeks ago I made no preliminary conditions of any sort. You came to London on that invitation and exchanged views with me at three meetings of considerable length. The proposals I made to you after those meetings were based upon full and sympathetic consideration of the views which you expressed.

They were not made in any haggling spirit. On the contrary, my colleagues and I went to the very limit of our powers in endeavoring to reconcile British and Irish interests. Our proposals have gone far beyond all precedent, and have been approved as liberal by the whole of the civilized world. Even in quarters which had shown sympathy with the most extreme of the Irish claims they are regarded as the utmost which the empire can reasonably offer or Ireland reasonably expect.

The only criticism of them I have yet heard outside Ireland is from those who maintain that our proposals have overstepped both warrant and wisdom in their liberality. Your letter shows no recognition of this, and further negotiations must, I fear, be futile, unless some definite progress is made toward acceptance of a basis.

You declare our proposals involve the surrender of Ireland's whole national tradition and reduce her to subservience. What are the facts?

Under the settlement we outlined Ireland would control every nerve and fiber of her national existence. She would speak her own language and make her own religious life; she would have complete power over taxation and finance, subject only to an agreement for keeping trade and transport as free as possible between herself and Great Britain, her best market.

She would have uncontrolled authority over education and all the moral and spiritual interests of her race; she would have it also over law and order, over land and agriculture, over conditions of labor and industry, over the health and homes of her people, and over her own defense.

She would, in fact, within the shores of Ireland be free in every respect of national activity, national expression, and national development. The States of the American Union, sovereign though they be, enjoy no such range of rights.

Our proposals go even further, for they invite Ireland to take her place as a partner in the great commonwealth of free nations, united by allegiance to the King.

We consider these proposals completely fulfil your wish that the principle of government by consent of the governed should be the broad and guiding principle of the settlement which your plenipotentiaries are to negotiate. That principle was first developed in England and is the mainspring of the representative institutions which she was first to create. It was spread by her throughout the world and is now the very life of the British commonwealth.

We could not have invited the Irish people to take their place in that commonwealth on any other principle, and we are convinced that through it we can heal old misunderstandings and achieve an enduring partnership as honorable to Ireland as to the other nations of which the commonwealth consists.

But when you argue that the relations of Ireland with the British Empire are comparable in principle to those of Holland or Belgium with the German people, I find it necessary to repeat once more that those are premises which no British Government, whatever its complexion, can ever accept.

In demanding that Ireland should be treated as a separate sovereign Power, with no allegiance to the Crown and no loyalty to the sister-nations of the commonwealth, you are advancing claims which the most famous nationalist leaders in Irish history, from Grattan to Parnell and Redmond, have explicitly disowned.

Grattan in a famous phrase declared that "the ocean protests against separation and the sea against union." Daniel O'Connell,

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most eloquent perhaps of all the spokesmen of the Irish national cause, protested thus in the House of Commons in 1830:

"Never did monarch receive more undivided allegiance than the present King from the men who in Ireland agitate the repeal of the union. Never was there grosser calumny than to assert that they wish to produce separation between the two countries. Never was there a greater mistake than to suppose that we wish to dissolve the connection."

[The Premier then quotes a letter written in 1854 to the Duke of Wellington by Thomas Davis, "a fervent exponent of the ideals of Young Ireland," as advocating the retention of the Imperial Parliament and the giving to Ireland of a senate selected by the people, the right of levying customs and excise and other taxes, the making of roads, harbors, railways, canals and bridges, encouraging manufacturers, commerce, agriculture, and fishing, and the settling of the poor laws, tithes, tenures, grand juries, and franchises.]

The British Government offered Ireland all that O'Connell and Thomas Davis asked, and more; we are met only by an unqualified demand that we should recognize Ireland as a foreign Power. It is playing with phrases to suggest that the principle of government by consent of the governed compels recognition of that demand on our part, or that in repudiating it we are straining geographical and historical considerations to justify claim to ascendancy over the Irish race.

There is no political principle, however clear, that can be applied without regard to limitations imposed by physical and historical facts. Those limitations are as necessary as the very principle itself to the structure of every free nation; to deny them would involve the dissolution of all democratic states. It was on these elementary grounds that we called attention to the governing force of the geographical propinquity of these two islands and of their long and historic association, despite the great difference of character of the races.

We do not believe a permanent reconciliation between Great Britain and Ireland can ever be attained without recognition of their physical and historical interdependence, which makes complete political and economic separation impracticable for both.

I cannot better express the British standpoint in this respect than in the words used of the Northern and Southern States by Abraham Lincoln in his first inaugural address. They were spoken by him on the brink of the American Civil War, which he was striving to avert:

"Physically speaking," he said, "we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other now and build an impassable wall between them. . . . It is impossible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. . . . Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain for either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse again are upon you."

I do not think it can reasonably be contended that the relations between Great Britain and Ireland are in any different case.

I thought I had made it clear, both in my conversations with you and in my two subsequent communications, that we can discuss no settlement which involves a refusal on the part of Ireland to accept our invitation to a free, equal, and loyal partnership in the British commonwealth under one sovereign.

I am reluctant to precipitate this issue, but just point out that a prolongation of the present state of affairs is dangerous. Action is being taken in various directions which, if continued, would prejudice the truce and must ultimately lead to its termination. This would indeed be deplorable.

While therefore prepared to make every allowance as to time which will advance the cause of peace, we cannot prolong a mere exchange of notes. It is essential that some definite and immediate progress should be made toward a basis upon which further negotiations can usefully proceed. Your letter seems to us, unfortunately, to show no such progress.

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In this and my previous letters I have set forth the considerations which must govern the attitude of His Majesty's Government in any negotiations which they undertake. If you are prepared to examine how far these considerations can be reconciled with the aspirations you represent, I shall be happy to meet you and your colleagues.

D. Lloyd George

More Irish Conditions

August 30, 1921

We, too, are convinced it is essential that some "definite and immediate progress should be made toward a basis upon which further negotiations can usefully proceed," and recognize the futility of "a mere exchange" of argumentative notes. I shall therefore refrain from commenting on the fallacious historical references in your last communication. The present is the reality with which we have to deal.

The conditions of today are resultant of the past. Accurately summing up and giving in simplest form the essential data of the problem, these data are:

1. The people of Ireland, acknowledging no voluntary union with Great Britain and claiming as their fundamental and natural right to choose freely for themselves the path they shall take to realize their national destiny, have, by an overwhelming majority, declared for independence and to set up a republic, and more than once have confirmed their choice.

2. Great Britain, on the other hand, acts as though Ireland were bound to her by a contract of union that forbids separation. The circumstances of the supposed contract are notorious. Yet, on the theory of its validity, the British Government and Parliament claimed to rule and legislate for Ireland, even to the point of partitioning Irish territory against the will of the Irish people and killing or casting into prison every Irish citizen who refuses allegiance.

The proposals your Government submitted in the draft of July 20 are based fundamentally on the latter premises. We rejected these proposals, and our rejection is irrevocable. They are not an invitation to Ireland to enter into a free and willing partnership with the free nations of the British commonwealth. They are an invitation to Ireland to enter in the guise of and under conditions which determine a status definitely inferior to that of these free states.

Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand all are guaranteed against domination of the major state, not only by acknowledged constitutional rights which give them equality of status with Great Britain and absolute freedom from the control of the British Parliament, but by the thousands of miles which separate them from Great Britain. Ireland would have guaranties neither of distance nor of right. The conditions sought to be imposed would divide her into two artificial states, each destructive of the other's influence in any common council, and both subject to military, naval, and economic control by the British Government.

The main historical and geographical facts are not in dispute, but your Government insists on viewing them from your standpoint, and we must be allowed to view them from ours. The history you interpret as dictating union we read as dictating separation. Our interpretation of the facts of "geographical propinquity" is no less diametrically opposed. We are convinced that ours is the true and just interpretation, and as proof are willing that a neutral and impartial arbitrator should be the judge. You refuse, and threaten to give effect to your views by force. Our reply must be that if you adopt that course we can only resist as generations before us have resisted. Force will not solve the problem, and it will never secure the ultimate victory over reason and right.

If you again resort to force, and if victory be not on the side of justice, the problem that confronts us will confront our successors. The fact that for 750 years the problem has resisted solution by force is evidence and warning sufficient.

It is true wisdom, therefore, and true statesmanship, not any false idealism, that prompts me and my colleagues. Threats of force must be set aside. They must be set aside from the beginning, as well as during actual conduct of the negotiations.

The respective plenipotentiaries must meet untrammeled by any conditions save the facts themselves, and must be prepared to reconcile subsequent differences, not by appeals to force, covert or open, but by reference to some guiding principle on which there is common agreement.

We have proposed the principle of government by consent of the governed, and do not mean it as a mere phrase. It is a simple expression of the test to which any proposed solution must respond if it is to prove adequate, and it can be used as the criterion for the details as well as for the whole. That you claim it as a peculiarly British principle, instituted by the British and "now the very life of the British commonwealth," should make it peculiarly acceptable to you.

On this basis, and this only, we see hope of reconciling "the considerations which must govern the attitude" of Great Britain's representatives with the considerations that must govern the attitude of Ireland's representatives, and on this basis we are ready at once to appoint plenipotentiaries.

Eamon de Valera

An Ultimatum

September 7, 1921

His Majesty's Government have considered your letter of August 30, and have to make the following observations upon it:

The principle of government by the consent of the governed is the foundation of British constitutional development, but we cannot accept as a basis of a practical conference an interpretation of that principle which would commit us to any demands you might present, even to the extent of setting up a republic and repudiating the Crown.

You must be aware that a conference on such a basis is impossible. So applied, the principle of government by consent of the governed would undermine the fabric of every democratic state and drive the civilized world back into tribalism.

On the other hand, we have invited you to discuss our proposals on their merits, in order that you may have no doubt as to the scope and sincerity of our intentions.

It would be open to you in such a conference to raise the subject of guaranties on any points in which you may consider Irish freedom prejudiced by these proposals. His Majesty's Government are loath to believe that you will insist upon rejection of their proposals without examining them in a conference.

To decline to discuss a settlement which would bestow upon the Irish people the fullest freedom for national development within the empire can only mean that you repudiate all allegiance to the Crown and all membership in the British commonwealth.

If we were to draw this inference from your letter, then further discussions between us could serve no useful purpose, and all conferences would be in vain. If, however, we are mistaken in this inference, as we still hope, and if your real objection to our proposals is that they offer Ireland less than the liberty we have described, that objection can be explored at a conference.

You will agree that this correspondence has lasted long enough. His Majesty's Government must, therefore, ask for a definite reply as to whether you are prepared to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

If, as we hope, your answer is in the affirmative, I suggest that the conference should meet at Inverness on the 20th instant.

D. Lloyd George

Up to the time of going to press the Irish reply to the last note of Mr. Lloyd George had not been made public, although it was generally believed that it would take the form of a qualified acceptance.

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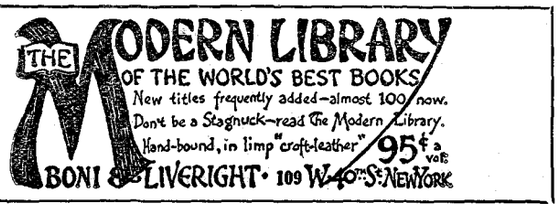
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